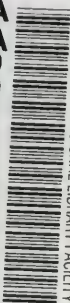


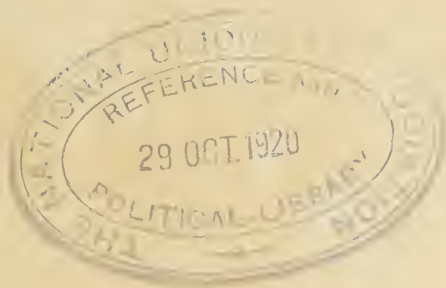
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FACTS AND ARGUMENTS

FOR

Municipal Reform Speakers and Candidates.

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MUNICIPAL TRADING.

The Municipal Reform Policy.

The following statement of policy in regard to Municipal Trading is taken from the Municipal Reform Party's Manifesto, dated December 4th, 1906 :—

“ They will endeavour to secure the establishment of a uniform system of Municipal Accounts, and an audit conducted by qualified and independent auditors, as recommended by the Report of the Select Committee on Municipal Trading, 1903. Such auditors shall :—

(A) Certify that separate accounts of all trading undertakings have been kept, and that every charge which each ought to bear has been duly debited ; and

(B) State their opinion upon the necessity of reserve funds, and the adequacy of amounts set aside to meet depreciation of plant.

“ They will insist on knowing themselves, and on the public knowing, the actual cost of all trading concerns. It may, or may not, be justifiable to carry on certain undertakings at a loss, but the ratepayers ought not to be deceived in this or in any other matter.”

A Joint Select Committee on Municipal Trading was appointed by Parliament in May, 1900, but the inquiry was interrupted by the rising of Parliament, and no report on the subject was made.

Report of the Select Committee, 1903.

Another Select Committee was appointed in May, 1903, but, owing to the short time at their disposal, the Committee confined their inquiry to the system of municipal account keeping and audit.

Their report, dated July 22nd, 1903, stated :—

“ The Committee recommend that a uniform system of audit should be applied to all the major local authorities, viz.,

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the councils of counties, cities, towns, burghs, and of urban districts, and their recommendations are accordingly as follows :—

(A) The existing system of audit applicable to corporations, county councils and urban district councils in England and Wales be abolished.

(B) Auditors, being members of the Institute of Chartered Accountants, or of the Incorporated Society of Accountants and Auditors, should be appointed by the three classes of local authorities just mentioned.

(C) In every case the appointment should be subject to the approval of the Local Government Board, after hearing any objections made by ratepayers, and the auditor, who should hold office for a term not exceeding five years, should be eligible for re-appointment, and should not be dismissed by the local authority without the sanction of the Board.

(D) In the event of any disagreement between the local authority and the auditor as to his remuneration, the Local Government Board should have power to determine the matter.

(E) The Scotch practice of appointing auditors from a distance, in preference to local men, to audit the accounts of small burghs should in similar cases be adopted in England.

“ The Committee are of opinion that it should be made clear by statute or regulation that the duties of those entrusted with the audit of local accounts are not confined to mere certification of figures. They therefore further recommend that :—

(A) The auditor should have the right of access to all such papers, books, accounts, vouchers, sanctions for loans, and so forth, as are necessary for his examination and certificate.

(B) He should be entitled to require from officers of the authority such information and explanation as may be necessary for the performance of his duties.

(C) He should certify :—

- (i.) That he has found the accounts in order, or otherwise, as the case may be ;
- (ii.) That separate accounts of all trading undertakings have been kept, and that every charge which each ought to bear has been duly debited ;
- (iii.) That in his opinion the accounts issued present a true and correct view of the transactions and results of trading (if any) for the period under investigation ;
- (iv.) That due provision has been made out of revenue for the repayment of loans, that all items of receipts

and expenditure and all known liabilities have been brought into account, and that the value of all assets has in all cases been fairly stated.

“Auditors should be required to express an opinion upon the necessity of reserve funds, of amounts set aside to meet depreciation and obsolescence of plant, in addition to the statutory sinking funds, and of the adequacy of such amounts.

“The auditor should also be required to present a report to the local authority. Such report should include observations upon any matters as to which he has not been satisfied, or which in his judgment called for special notice, particularly with regard to the value of any assets taken into account.

“The local authority should forward to the Local Government Board both the detailed accounts and the report of the auditor made upon them. It should be the duty of the auditor to report independently to the Board any case in which an authority declines to carry out any recommendation made by him.

“A printed copy of the accounts, with the certificate and report of the auditor thereon, should be supplied by the local authority to any ratepayer at a reasonable charge.”

(Report on Municipal Trading, No. 270, 1903.)

If these recommendations become law, the proper and adequate audit of the accounts of local authorities would be secured, and the ratepayers would then be able to ascertain the real results of the various trading undertakings carried on by the local authorities.

The Chambers of Commerce have constantly urged that these recommendations should be adopted. But nothing has as yet been done. Mr. Gerald Balfour, whilst President of the Local Government Board, promised a Departmental Committee on behalf of the late Ministry, but no such Committee was in fact appointed. On January 21st, 1906, Mr. John Burns, President of the Local Government Board, appointed a Departmental Committee to inquire into the accounts of local authorities. This Committee has not up to the present time reported.

The Right Hon. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Bart., M.P. (now Viscount St. Aldwyn), in a speech delivered at Cheltenham, on December 5th, 1903, said :—

“There is in some quarters a strong feeling against what is called ‘municipal trading.’ I do not think that anything you have done here can be properly described as going beyond the true functions of the municipality. But, even if it were possible,

I should say that, if a municipality takes care that its constituents, the ratepayers, have as full an opportunity of knowing what it is doing as the shareholders in a well-managed public company, there need not be much fear as to the proper administration of its affairs. It seems to me vital that in all these matters the ratepayers should have periodically placed before them the fullest and clearest account of the assets of their several undertakings, of the profit or the loss that may be incurred by any of them, of the necessary provision for the depreciation of plant, and last, but by no means least, of the provision made for repaying loans—not out of fresh loans—but out of rates. And to secure this there must be a proper audit of municipal accounts of all kinds, conducted by qualified and independent auditors, who will show, to the understanding of the most unskilled persons, precisely on what the rates are being spent and what advantages they have secured.”

The question of municipal trading is fully dealt with by Major Leonard Darwin, in his work on “Municipal Trade,” published by John Murray. A summary of his conclusions is impossible in this short article, but particular attention may be directed to his chapter on municipal house building. For further information on the question, see the following :—

Municipal Trading Select Committee, 1900 ; Evidence.

Municipal Trading Select Committee, 1903 ; evidence and report.

Times articles on “Municipal Socialism,” 1902.

Municipal Trading. Report of Conference convened by London Municipal Society, May 28th, 1902.

“Municipal Trading *alias* Socialism,” by J. Ratcliffe Cousins, L.C.C.

“On Municipal and National Trading,” by Lord Avebury, P.C., published by Macmillan, 1906.

“Municipal Socialism,” *The Quarterly Review*, October, 1906.

Arguments against Municipal Trading.

Municipal Reformers oppose municipal trading, because they feel it can never prove a success unless it becomes a monopoly. A monopoly is a dangerous thing in any business and commercial undertaking. Municipal Reformers, as a party, are against great monopolies, because they hold that they are

not to the interest of the community, either individually or collectively. As ratepayers, they are against municipal trading, because it almost invariably results in a financial loss.

Further, it (i.) stifles private enterprise, and crushes the power of initiation and invention. If a person is a municipal employee, and has thought out an invention, he is not allowed to take out a patent for it without first obtaining the permission of the Committee or Council. A case of this occurred only recently. A young official in the employ of the Stores Department, a very able young fellow, was wishing to bring out a patent chair for the schools. He asked if he might bring it out as his own patent. The difficulty the Committee felt was that if he took it up he would have made a profit, and they do not allow an official to take part in any other business than that of the Council. This instance demonstrates the difficulty. Municipal trading discourages personal invention, such as is encouraged in all private business undertakings, where men are striving to improve upon existing machinery, &c.

(ii.) A second reason is that the Council is not a body intended to conduct a speculative business. It may fairly be urged that it is not a body to go into any kind of business whatever which is liable to be run at a loss. Also that a municipal authority should not trade with the money entrusted to it, because, whether County or Borough Councillors, they are in both cases trustees for, and on behalf of, the public, and should administer their trust in the same way as would any private trustee. A solicitor who makes a loss, or an individual who makes a loss in connection with a private trusteeship, are both liable personally, in the event of their having gone outside the terms of their trust, to make up that loss. It is quite different with the Council, for it has the rates upon which to fall back. It is the ratepayer who has to defray any deficit, and who has to bear the whole burden imposed by fiascoes, such as the L.C.C. Steamboat Service, &c.

(iii.) A third reason is that it is accompanied by grave political dangers on account of the increasing number of municipal employees. The L.C.C. at present employs about 35,000 per-

sons, including the school teachers, who number over 15,000. In the county and borough elections their support carries increasing weight. With such a rapid increase in the number of employees there must be a large proportion of electors who elect their so-called masters. This municipal trading necessarily leads to the employment of a vast number of men. Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., the present leader of the Labour Party, at the Annual Conference of the Municipal Employees, on May 27th, 1905 (according to *Lloyd's Newspaper* of May 28th, 1905), said :—

“As a Socialist he was naturally strongly in favour of organisation among municipal employees, and was pleased to see the marvellous progress this Association had made. In going through some Parliamentary papers the other day he came across one which fairly astounded him, for from it he learned that in this country there were over 2,000,000 municipal employees. As the total of wage-earners numbered 14,000,000, this was very interesting. He had also found that in 1903, when there was a reduction in wages all round, the wages of municipal employees had alone increased—he might say, had doubled.”

(iv.) As already stated, municipal trading tends to encourage monopoly. It is quite right for the L.C.C. to take charge of sanitation, &c., but the management of electric supply, gas works, coffee-houses, dairies, &c., &c., is far better left to private enterprise. This can be shown in several ways.

In the case of the General Power Distribution Bill of 1897, which had for its object the establishment of a central generating station to supply electric power for manufacturing purposes in a large area in the Midlands, six or seven municipalities, within the proposed area of supply, opposed this Bill because they owned gas works. The result was the rejection of the Bill.

Again, in regard to the Mond Gas Bill, 1901, out of twelve petitioners against the Bill, by which it was proposed to supply Mond Gas (a new invention) to manufacturers in a large area in Staffordshire and Worcestershire, seven consisted of municipal traders in gas. They did all in their power to prevent the Bill going through, but eventually it succeeded in passing.

Blackpool has electric tramways, and is doing all in its power to refuse licences for omnibuses. The Southend

Corporation affords another case. It possesses municipal tramways running in a very circumscribed area, though several well-populated districts lie immediately around it. A company comparatively recently applied for leave to run a motor omnibus service. Leave was refused by the Corporation on the ground that the company would compete with the tramways. The same is the case with other towns in England, at the present time. Not long ago the Corporation of Newcastle, on behalf of the municipalities owning tramways, offered the strongest opposition to the grant of powers to the North Eastern Railway Company to run motor omnibuses.

The L.C.C. Agenda for July 31st, 1906, contained the following notice of motion by Mr. Jephson :—

“That, having regard to the fact that rates are levied in respect of tramway tracks in the County of London, and as it appears inequitable that other public vehicles driven by mechanical traction should be exempt from taxation in respect of their use of public roads, particularly as the extensive use of such vehicles has had the effect of increasing the cost of maintenance of roads, it be referred to the Local Government, Records and Museums Committee to consider and **report as to the best means of imposing additional taxation by a tax on motor omnibuses.**”

This is one of the most recent attempts to stifle and destroy private enterprise, because, as everyone knows, the motor omnibus is at present only in its infancy, and improvements are rapidly being made in this industry.

Other reasons against municipal trading are—(v.) that it is outside the proper functions of a municipality ; and

(vi.) That it constitutes an unfair competition with the trading ratepayers, owing to the fact that the ratepayer finds himself in competition with the municipal rival, trading with funds raised by rates to which he partly contributes, and with cheaply borrowed money secured partly on the rateable value of the property in which he himself carries on his business.

Officialism : its Cost and Dangers.

The cost of, and dangers attending, excessive officialism were thus summed up in an article in *The Standard* of June 8th, 1906 :—

“ One of the most striking items of increased expenditure on the part of the London County Council of late years has been in respect of what is described in their accounts as ‘establishment charges, salaries, pensions, &c.’ The following figures enable a comparison to be made between the expenditure in respect of part of this item for the year 1889–1890, and the estimates for the years 1905–6 and 1906–7. The figures for the actual expenditure for the year 1905–6 are not yet forthcoming :—

L.C.C.	1889–1890.	1905–6 (est.)	1906–7 (est.)
	£	£	£
Pensions	26,769	63,435	64,095
Establishment charges .	87,304	227,680	242,480

Increase—1906–7
over 1889–1890.

Increase per cent.
1906–7 over 1889–1890.

£						
37,326	..	..	..	..	..	137
155,176	..	..	..	..	..	177

“ Much of the expenditure under this same item is debited in the accounts of the London County Council under the heading of ‘other services,’ and, consequently, is impossible to accurately apportion, so that the above table does not disclose by any means the whole expenditure.

“ The last annual report, for the year 1903–4, issued by the London County Council, states that the number of officials on yearly salaries at the central office was, in—

January, 1889.
164.

March, 1904.
561.

“ The following table of persons in the employ of the London County Council is taken from the same annual report (p. 327) :—

	On salaries or fixed fees		On weekly wages.		Total.		Total expenditure on salaries, wages, &c. £
During 1889 ..	1,149	..	2,220	..	3,369	..	287,000
Year to March, 1904 ..	3,752	..	11,410	..	15,162	..	1,315,319
Increase ..	..	..	..	..	11,793	..	£1,028,319

“ To the above figures have to be added over 15,000 teachers, &c., in the service of the Education Department of the London County Council, whilst since 1904 other services have been added to the Council’s duties—as, for example, the Thames steamboat service which, with accuracy somewhat startling, is classified under “remunerative services.” The full number of employees under the control of the London County Council in all probability at the present time exceeds 35,000. The total number of municipal employees in London is estimated at about 60,000.

Employees' Voting Power.

"The electorate for municipal purposes on the register for the year 1905 was 742,000. Only 45.7 per cent. of an electorate of 699,000 voted in the 1904 London County Council election. Generally speaking, only half, or even less of the total electorate vote at London municipal elections. It is evident that 60,000 municipal employees can—in fact, often do—exercise a decisive influence on the election of those who are to be their nominal masters. It is not merely by their votes, but by their active work in municipal elections that great pressure is brought to bear. The dangers attaching to the creation of an official bureaucracy of such vast dimensions are forcibly put forward by the late John Stuart Mill in his work 'On Liberty,' in the following words :—

" 'Every function superadded to those already exercised by the Government, causes its influence over hopes and fears to be more widely diffused, and converts, more and more, the active and ambitious part of the public into hangers-on of the Government, or of some party which aims at becoming the Government. . . . If the employees of all these different enterprises were appointed and paid by the Government, and looked to the Government for every rise in life, not all the freedom of the Press, and popular constitution of the legislature, would make this or any other country, free, otherwise than in name. . . . To be admitted into the ranks of this bureaucracy, and, when admitted, to rise therein, would be the sole objects of ambition. Under this *regime*, not only is the outside public ill-qualified, for want of practical experience, to criticise or check the mode of operation of the bureaucracy, but even if the accidents of despotic or the natural working of popular institutions occasionally raise to the summit a ruler, or rulers, of reforming inclinations, no reform can be effected which is contrary to the interest of the bureaucracy. Such is the melancholy condition of the Russian Empire, as shown in the accounts of those who have had sufficient opportunity of observation. The Czar himself is powerless against the bureaucratic body.' (Mill, 'On Liberty,' pp. 65-66, 1887 ed.)

"The government of London is falling increasingly under the control of the officials. The multifarious functions of the central and local bodies, and the work imposed upon them by the ever-increasing duties undertaken, for example, by the London County Council, tend to make the elective representatives leave the control and the direction of the various departments more and more in the hands of the officials. What is equally important is, that the same causes tend to exclude much of the best intellect and business capacity from coming forward as candidates in local elections.

Increase of Expenditure.

“Further, the average councillor, when elected, has neither the time nor the knowledge, increasingly difficult to acquire, to check effectively the officials. So far as the control of education under the County Council is concerned, the growth of officialism appears, if anything, to be more rapid even than in other departments.

“... So far as the majority of the Progressive Party in the London County Council is concerned, their ambition would appear to know no limits. They still thirst for the control of the London police, for the extension of their jurisdiction over the City of London, and seek to achieve other equally ambitious objects. Without embarking on the ‘pros’ and ‘cons’ attaching to such projects, their attainment must inevitably bring about one result, namely, to reduce still further the effective supervision exercised by the elected representatives in all branches of London County Council administration, and, as a necessary sequence, place the real management of the work more and more under the officials. It is high time that London rate-payers gave more consideration to this question. England has hitherto not been addicted to any great extent to officialism. In fact, history throughout bears witness to a determined hostility on the part of Englishmen to be governed by a bureaucracy. . . .”

The following is extracted from an article in *The Daily Mail* of November 1st, 1906:—

Municipalities as Traders.

“The practical difficulties in the way of the application of the theory of municipal trading are insurmountable.

“I may roughly group them as follows:—

- (1) Nothing but the best pays;
- (2) There are not in municipal life either the men or the machinery to secure success.

“When I state that ‘nothing but the best pays,’ I mean that unless we get the best possible value for our money we suffer a loss. And the best value is exactly what we cannot get if our municipalities are competitive traders. If they have committed themselves to an appalling expenditure on one scheme, they will shut the door on the man who comes round with another, and perhaps far sounder, solution of the same problem. Supposing we had had municipal Socialism in days when our streets were lighted by oil, the municipalities would have sunk large sums in a fleet of whalers and refining plant. Out of their anxiety to justify that expenditure and make a profit on it they would

have been hostile to gas. Later, if they had plunged in gas they would not have been disposed to do a 'deal' in electric light. To-day they are locking up huge sums in electric plant, and if a new illuminant giving better value for our money comes along, we shall be denied the advantages of it.

"The L.C.C. have sunk millions in tramways. Are tramways to be the last word in swift locomotion? A tramway-car goes only on lines from a defined point to a defined point. The new motor omnibus can run anywhere. And because the L.C.C. have the tramways there is actually a movement on foot to hamper motor omnibuses by rating them. The newer enterprise is to be handicapped in order to prop up the old.

Municipal Jacks-of-all-Trades.

"Further, by entering the field as competitors they undermine their position as trustees of public rights. A municipality is frequently called upon to interpose and obtain concessions for the public. The L.C.C. has waged a long crusade with railway companies. It fought over and over again in Parliamentary Committee Rooms for the Model Workmen's Fare Clause, and to some extent achieved the result that the District Railway will carry a workman $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles into London and back for 2d.; the London, Chatham and Dover $7\frac{1}{4}$ miles and back for 2d.; the Metropolitan $7\frac{3}{4}$ miles and back for 2d.; the North London $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles and back for 2d.; and the Great Eastern $10\frac{3}{4}$ miles and back for 2d. But what has happened? The L.C.C. own competing tramways, and in May last the Progressive Chairman of the Tramway Committee appealed to the Council to sanction a revised scale of charges, which would have compelled workmen to pay $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. for any distance over 6 miles and 3d. for a return journey of any distance over 12 miles on the new lines.

"Another charge against municipal trading in practice is that it is in a word unworkable. One man one trade is the key-stone of business success. Municipal bodies impose upon their members the necessity of being Jacks-of-all-trades. In order to give present-day municipal trading a chance of success every councillor must be at one and the same time (a) a highly trained electrical expert; (b) a skilful land valuer; (c) a practical engineer and builder; (d) a tramway edition of Sir George Gibb; (e) a road maker and sewage engineer; (f) an educational expert; (g) a steamboat manager; and a score of other things as well. He must also know all about the market prices of practically everything, and keep close touch with the developments in all these professions and trades. He must conduct all these businesses and hold his own in rivalry with men who give their whole energy and a life's training to running only one of them. No man living, of course, is capable of such varied proficiency, and that is why municipal trading fails.

"Municipal councillors are not demigods of industry and all the professions. In too many cases they have not even the business ability of the youngest office boy. Yet we allow them to hoist the signboard 'In Business—As Everything,' and foot the bill. Wisdom will certainly come with empty pockets. But why wait till then ?

"The increase of officials, again, is alarming and costly. . . . The total number of municipal employees in London is roughly estimated at 60,000."

Municipal Trading and Socialism.

It is not sufficiently recognised that municipal trading is Socialism pure and simple. The battle cry of Mr. Russell Williams, the Socialist Candidate for Huddersfield, in the by-election of November, 1906, may perhaps be accepted as being the latest official definition of militant Socialism. It was this : **"All that is socially needed, should be socially owned."**

It is interesting to trace the origin of municipal Socialism and note how it originated in purely Socialistic groups and gradually permeated through the Progressive caucus until—as is the case to-day—it covers the whole field of Progressive activity, wiping out the old landmarks of citizen prudence. The Municipal Reformers claim that Mr. McKinnon Wood, and Mr. Dickinson, and their supporters stand to-day for Socialism, and therefore that all moderate persons, whatever their political views may be, should mass themselves against Socialism under the banner of Municipal Reform. It is a startling conclusion to be forced to accept, but it is not difficult to show that it is true, and that it is one which, in the interests of London government, should be firmly met.

The evolution of the movement is easily traced. The germ of this form of disease—this modern Socialism—was introduced in 1884 by the formation of the Social Democratic League, and the Fabian Society. The contagion spread to the Independent Labour Party, born in 1893. Then the Trade Unions became infected. Ultimately this pest has permeated our local governing bodies through the members of these allied groups.

It is eminently desirable that this insidious plan of attack should be exposed, and the country made fully aware of the

departure of municipalities from their proper functions, and their transformation into Socialistic associations.

As long as the Socialists contented themselves with passing vague resolutions, venting forcible opinions in the public parks, and otherwise letting off steam, Socialism made no headway.

The mischief assumed an active, dangerous character when the London County Council and other municipal bodies started Works Departments, erected municipal workshops, and, instead of blowing bubbles, put Socialism into bricks and mortar.

How the Plot was Worked.

HISTORY OF THE PROGRESS OF MUNICIPAL SOCIALISM.

The following extracts from "Fabian Essays on Socialism" (pp. 187, 152-3), expose the scheme:—

"At present the State machine has practically broken down under the strain of spreading democracy, the work being mainly local, and the machinery mainly central. Without efficient local machinery the replacing of private enterprise by State enterprise is out of the question."—(G. Bernard Shaw, p. 187.)

"The division of the county into clearly defined areas, each with an elected authority, is essential to any effective scheme of organisation. It is one of the signs of the coming age that in perfect unconsciousness of the nature of his Act, Mr. Ritchie has established the commune. He has divided England into districts ruled by County Councils, and has thus created the machinery without which Socialism was impracticable."—(A. Besant, pp. 152-3.)

The next step in the campaign was to secure the working of this local machinery, by electing Socialist representatives to the local authorities.

At the Trade Unions' Conference (Belfast), 1893, it was determined to establish a fund to assist candidates in local and Parliamentary elections, and to give financial assistance to other candidates pledged to support the principle of collective ownership and control of all the means of production and distribution.

The Independent Labour Party was about this time constituted, and a further stride made.

At the Trade Unions' Conference at Norwich, in 1894, a resolution was carried: "That it is essential to the maintenance

of British industries to nationalise the land and the whole of the means of production, distribution, and exchange."

At the International Workers' and Trades Union Congress held in London in 1896, the following resolution was moved:—

"In view of the importance of losing no opportunity of transferring industrial capital from private to public control, and securing to as many wage-workers as possible the comparative independence and permanence of employment enjoyed by public servants, especially in the more democratic countries, this Congress recommends all workers to agitate and vote in favour of:—(1) The immediate nationalisation of all mines, railways, canals, telegraphs, telephones, and other national monopolies; (2) The immediate municipalisation of the supply of water, gas, electric light; of docks, markets, tramways, omnibus services and pawnbroking; lake and river steamboat services; and all other local monopolies; (3) The immediate undertaking by public authorities of: (a) the manufacture and retailing of tobacco and bread; of the supply of coal, milk, and other universal necessities; and of the building of dwellings for the workers; (b) the manufacture and retailing of alcoholic drinks."

What private enterprise, it may be asked, remains unthreatened by this declaration of policy?

To further this policy, the delegates of the Trades Unions Congress were urged to come forward as candidates for election to the different representative bodies, and it was stated at the Congress in 1894 that, out of the delegates present, over 100 were members of some local or Parliamentary body.

A pamphlet issued by the Independent Labour Party states:—

"The practicability of Socialism is shown in no better way than by recent advances in municipalisation. . . . Every Town Council in the country is contemplating some greater or less application of the Socialist idea. . . . So with the ideas which underlie all worthy political action, Socialism is effecting a revolutionary change. The whole notions of individual enterprise are going."

Mr. Hunter Watts, in December, 1901, in the organ of the Social Democratic Federation, discloses the plot:—

"The capture of a few more seats on administrative bodies . . . will enable us to guide the policy of a great many of these bodies, for they are mainly composed of well-meaning people, who have no policy of their own and are only waiting for a lead. . . . The step towards Socialism, which we can make through

the Municipality, the County Council, or the Board of Guardians, may be only a short one, but it is one we shall never require to retrace again; let the State or Municipality organise labour in the production of the food, housing, clothing, and other necessities of life."

Sidney Webb, in "Socialism in England" (1893) said:—

"By far the most important advance in Socialist opinion and Socialist work has taken place outside the professedly Socialist organisations."

As an example of recent important strides in Socialism he gives chief place to the triumphant progress in collectivism of the London County Council:—

"The triumphant victory of the Progressive Party on the London County Council in 1892 was the more striking in that the contest was avowedly fought upon the issue of Municipal Socialism. The large majorities by which John Burns and other declared Socialists were returned were not more significant of the change of tone in London politics than is the way in which the Liberal Party, as far as the Metropolis is concerned, has been driven to adopt and actively to support the whole municipal programme put forward by the Socialist organisations."

At the Trades Union Congress in September, 1902, the President stated:—

"In the past Trades Unionists had only studied the industrial side of the question. The time had now arrived for them to pay more attention to the political side, and not only make themselves a great industrial but a great political force in the country."

Mr. J. Keir Hardie, M.P., at the City Socialist Circle, gloating over the Progressive successes at the L.C.C. election of 1901, said:—

"They were proud of the work they had done in the Council; they had been to that body what the motor is to the electric engine."

We have shown that municipal trading was originated by purely Socialistic groups, was actively advocated by them, and was insidiously engineered by them on to municipal bodies. The feverish and frantic delight with which the Progressives, as a body, have developed the scheme on the London County Council whenever opportunity offered during the last few years, proves that, in practice at any rate, they are very effective pioneers of Socialism. They may perhaps be gratified to know

that the real character of their work is understood at any rate by such shrewd observers as Mr. Bernard Shaw and Mr. W. T. Stead.

Mr. Bernard Shaw has himself stated that "Municipal Socialism is, in fact, really on foot among us under the name of Progressivism." (See "The Common Sense of Municipal Trading," by Bernard Shaw, p. 1, published 1904.)

Further, there occurs in *The Review of Reviews* for October, 1906, amongst the Notes which, it is believed, Mr. W. T. Stead, the editor, personally contributes, the admission that "The London County Council has been the nursing mother of municipal Socialism."

What is municipal trading ?

For a definition, it is only necessary to again turn to the writings of that well-known Socialist, Mr. Bernard Shaw, who, in his work entitled "The Common Sense of Municipal Trading," (on page 1), says :—

"Municipal trading seems a very simple matter of business. Yet it is conceivable by a sensible man that the political struggle over it may come nearer to a civil war than any issue raised in England since the Reform Bill of 1832."

On October 13th, 1906, Mr. Dickinson, M.P., for many years and still one of the most leading Progressives on the London County Council, presided at the meeting of the Land Nationalisation Society, held in London, and said, according to *The Daily Chronicle* of October 15th, 1906 :—

"... He would remind the Conference that the object of the Land Nationalisation Society was to abolish absolutely private ownership of land."

Only a few days previous, namely, on October 5th, 1906, Mr. Haldane, K.C., M.P., with all the weight of a Cabinet Minister, had stated :—

"If, in the name of Labour, Mr. Keir Hardie or anybody else brought forward abstract propositions which conflicted with Liberal principles, if he wished to nationalise land or capital or anything else, the Liberal Party would cross swords with him."—(*The Times*, October 6th, 1906.)

The principles on which the claim for land nationalism is based are practically identical with the principles upon which municipal trading proceeds. Mr. Russell Williams has

summarised them for us—"All that is socially needed, should be socially owned."

Speaking at the principal Progressive Conference, held prior to the London Borough Council elections of 1906, at the Westminster Palace Hotel, London, on October 19th, 1906, Mr. Sydney Buxton, M.P., the Postmaster-General, laid down the general principles of the Progressive policy, and said:—"As Progressives they had all reached this conclusion—**what was wanted in municipal government was** not so-called individualism, but **so-called collectivism.**"—(*The Daily News*, October 20th, 1906.)

It may be fairly claimed, therefore, that, so far at all events as London is concerned, one of the issues—if not the principal issue—at the coming County Council election—lies between Collectivism *alias* Socialism on the one hand, and Liberty and Individualism on the other.

How Municipal Socialism restricts Progress.

"Every revolution in science, every radical invention in mechanical appliances, has, in the past, been opposed by some form of authority, if it be only that most deceptive—but most oppressive of all—public opinion. The progress of this century, whether in science or in industry, could never have been achieved, but for the obstinate persistence of individuals against received and popular opinions. The introduction of railways and of machinery generally was assailed as fiercely as later on the Darwinian theory. Under the new Socialistic *régime*, how would the man be regarded by the authorities—for you cannot have the singular without the plural—who showed that the labour of skilled workers might be dispensed with by some radical invention?"—(Professor Shield Nicholson in "Historical Progress and Ideal Socialism," pp. 44-45.)

The above quotation illustrates a point in the municipal trading controversy which is apt to be too lightly weighed. The individual who now invents new methods can find capital to push his invention. Under municipal Socialism, advance

would be impossible, as every reform or invention would be opposed by those concerned. In fact, there would be no stimulus to invention and discovery, much less a desire to adopt new ideas.

This phase is fully borne out in the case of public or State departments. These are invariably slow to progress, and the progress which they do exhibit is invariably due to outside pressure. What great invention ever came from a Government department, or was the product of a State official ?

Many great inventors and discoverers have, as a result of what their brain has produced, speedily amassed a large fortune.

To suggest, as Socialists frequently do, that the hope of acquiring wealth and possessions does not act as an incentive and impetus to the majority of inventors, is contrary to all human experience.

“Hope springs eternal in the human breast.” This Socialism would kill entirely, and the vast majority of inventors would never embark upon labours full of disappointment and mental ennui and fatigue.

Is it seriously to be expected that the weekly allowance of bread and butter, which Socialism offers, is to take the place of the material possibilities at present open to the successful inventor ?

Socialists in this country, as contradistinguished to the Continent of Europe, invariably seek to escape the logical sequence of the doctrines they preach. Pure and undiluted Socialism is consequently seldom advocated on public platforms in England. The whole basis of Socialism rests, however, on equality. Whether this equality is to be brought about by a levelling up, or a levelling down, may for present purposes be conceded to be a matter of opinion.

But if the successful inventor is to be rewarded on a scale at all commensurate to his contribution to humanity, what becomes of this equality ?

Again, it is contrary to all Socialistic principles that a person should be able to transmit private property on his death.

In this event any reward accorded to him would be largely lessened in value, and the impetus for mental exertion correspondingly diminished.

Miraculous changes will have to be worked in human nature before the ordinary inventor comes to consider the bestowal of a red ribbon by a Keir Hardie, sufficient recompense for months, and often years, of hard mental toil, accompanied as these are by all the inevitable disappointments which inventors have to undergo.

For example, Mr. Robert Blatchford, the editor of the Socialist *Clarion*, in his well-known book, "Merrie England" (on page 62), states :—

"Under ideal Socialism, the scavenger and ploughman would be as well paid as the doctor and the engineer."

The fact, so frequently harped on in Socialistic writings, that certain great scientists have been willing to give their lives to their work, and live and die in comparative poverty, in no way touches what is said here previously.

"*Poeta nascitur, non fit*," and the same is equally true of other classes of intellect.

One of the inherent fallacies of Socialism is to assume that all men are alike in intellect, &c., and what is more, that all do, or ever can, under any circumstances, approximate to the highest intellects. Doubtless it is flattering to the ordinary man in the street to be told that he has all the characteristics of a Plato or a Socrates, of a Darwin or a Huxley, but it is, and always will remain, untrue.

No doubt, by a course of identical training, it is possible to turn out individuals trained in one and the same groove, and this training may attach to them through life.

Training of such a nature is, however, antagonistic in the extreme to originality, the very fount of invention. Inevitably its result must be to level down the intellects of those naturally brilliant.

Genius, rare enough to-day, would under Socialism become infinitely more rare, and speedily non-existent.

The matter was recently ably summed up by Mr. George Wyndham, M.P., who, when speaking at Birmingham on October 25th, 1906, said :—

“ If they extinguished private property, they extinguished private enterprise.”

The Losses from Municipal Trading.

Every possible effort has been made from time to time by supporters of municipal trading to represent their concerns in a favourable light. Unfortunately their system of account-keeping and unbusinesslike balance sheets make the ascertainment of the real financial position a matter of great difficulty. Two inquiries have, however, been made. The one is known as Sir Henry Fowler's Return (Parliamentary Paper No. 398 of 1902), and the other is an independent scrutiny which was conducted by the well-known accountant and financial expert, Mr. Holt Schooling, the result of which was contributed to the *Fortnightly Review* for August, 1906. To deal with Sir Henry Fowler's Return first, Lord Avebury, in his recently issued book “ On Municipal and National Trading,” summarizes the return on page 89. We quote the following :—

“ Sir H. Fowler's well-known return purporting to show the financial result of municipal trading, is a very interesting, but a very misleading document. It suggests, indeed, a profit of £378,000 on a capital of £100,000,000—a miserable return surely on so great an investment. Moreover, the loss of Manchester on the Ship Canal is omitted. Again, as the so-called profit on gas amounts to £395,000, it is evident that on the other services there was a balance on the wrong side of £17,000. But in the case of gas the municipalities have a monopoly, and can charge what they please. They take what they choose out of the pockets of the ratepayers, and call it a profit. Coming to the accounts themselves, it is quite obvious that many additions, and still more deductions should be made.

“ The loss on baths and wash-houses, £125,000, and on burial-grounds should, perhaps, in fairness be omitted. On the other hand, the amount received from the tramway lines which are leased must, of course, be deducted from any estimate of profit on municipal trading. On the accounts, therefore, as given, and with the proviso that a careful examination, such as that which Mr. Row Fogo has given to the gas accounts,

would, if applied to the other accounts, show many deductions which ought to be made, the account would stand as follows :—

	£	£
Balance in favour shown in return ..		378,281
Add Loss written off on Baths and Wash-houses		124,952
„ Loss written off on Burial-grounds		63,784
		<hr/>
		£567,017
Deduct Gas Sinking Fund	55,816	
„ Renewals and Additions ..	7,640	
„ Depreciation	11,152	
„ Income Tax, &c.	2,491	
	<hr/>	
	77,099	
„ Rent on Tramway Lines leased	16,240	
	<hr/>	
		93,339
		<hr/>
Leaving		£473,678

“ This is **less than $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the capital of over £100,000,000**, and surely no one can seriously maintain that it was worth while to run the risk, and throw so heavy a burden on municipalities, for so exiguous a return. But this is not all. We do not know what amounts have been written off for depreciation, office charges, law, &c.

“ For instance, as regards the electrical ventures, involving a capital of over £12,500,000, the amount written off for depreciation is only £19,970. On water works, with a capital of £57,000,000, only £27,000 is allowed ; on gas works, for a capital of £24,000,000, only £80,000 ; on tramways, with £9,750,000, only £50,000 ; on piers and harbours, with £5,400,000, only £4,500 ; on markets, with £6,180,000, only £500 ; on baths and wash-houses, with £2,000,000, nothing at all ; and on working-class dwellings, with £1,253,000, nothing at all. This is absurd, and if proper amounts had been allowed they would have turned the supposed profit into a heavy loss.

“ It is sometimes said that it is unnecessary to write off much for depreciation because of the sinking fund, but when we are told that the sinking fund will eventually hand the property over to the municipalities free from any charge, this entirely depends on whether the amount written off for depreciation is sufficient.

“ But even this is not all. In the case of London it is now admitted by the County Council, and in other cases it cannot be doubted, that increased amounts should have been written off for clerical, office, and other charges.”

Lord Avebury's allegation as to the insufficiency of establishment and other charges is only too well grounded.

L.C.C. Tramways and Establishment Charges.*

In 1905, the Central Staff and Offices of the London County Council—omitting the additional burden involved in the administration of the Education Act, cost £205,527. Seven years ago, when the Council first took over the tramways, it was £136,718. Let us take the middle year, 1902-3. Then the cost was £174,671. In that year the Clerk of the Council's Department cost £23,264. The tramways paid none of that, nor did they pay one penny until July, 1906, when they contributed the absurdly small sum of £500. Nobody can deny that the Clerks' Department must have much to do with the tramways, especially when we consider that it includes the Parliamentary branch, which looks after the Council's numerous tramway Bills.

In 1902-3, the Solicitors' Department cost £15,513; the tramways subscribed £500. The Comptroller's Department cost £16,506; the tramways were charged £300. And so on. In these seven years, while the Central Office has cost London perhaps £1,200,000, the tramways have paid only £8.160 towards this on revenue account.

Mr. Holt Schooling's Analysis of Municipal Trading.

Mr. J. Holt Schooling's article in the August, 1906, number of *The Fortnightly Review* is accompanied by several exceedingly interesting diagrams and tables. Mr. Schooling fully bears out the gravity of the question, to which Sir Robert Giffen called attention in *The Nineteenth Century* only in June, 1906. Certainly, a careful perusal of the information contained in Mr. Schooling's article amply corroborates Sir Robert Giffen's statement that "the situation has become very serious."

* As to this, cf. also pages 74-77 of Article entitled "Locomotion," Vol. I.

Mr. Schooling begins by stating: "Quite apart from the burden upon ratepayers—and the weight of the burden is continually being increased—the financial recklessness of municipalities is now of such extent that it constitutes a serious handicap upon the trade of the country. . . . Local taxation weighs heavily, not only upon the production of merchandise, but also upon the carrying of merchandise. . . . **The excessive local taxation of railways not only hampers commerce, but is directly injurious to our agricultural interests by preventing low freight charges.**"

Mr. Schooling has perforce to deal with the latest year for which statistics at the time were available, viz., 1901–02. One of the most unsatisfactory considerations in regard to the accounts relating to the local finance of this country is that at no time are statistics available for a period later than some five years ago.

In an interesting diagram, giving the yearly local rates for England and Wales per head of the population, Mr. Schooling shows that these have increased from 16s. 2d. in the year 1874–75, to 28s. 6d. for the year 1901–2—a growth of no less than 76 per cent. He also shows that there is a large increase in the rates per £1 of property, namely, from 3s. 4d. to 5s. 4d., representing a growth of 60 per cent.

Turning next to the question of local expenditure in England and Wales, Mr. Schooling in a table demonstrates that the average amount of local debt outstanding per head of the population has increased from £3 18s. 3d. in the year 1874–75, to £10 10s. 7d. in the year 1901–02; also that there has been an increase of £1 6s. 3d. per head of the population between the years 1899–1900 and 1901–02 in respect of local debt.

The growth of local expenditure has risen from 55 millions in the year 1889–90, to 121 millions in 1901–02 (*i.e.*, in the short period of twelve years), an increase, as Mr. Schooling points out, which immensely exceeds the growth of population.

In a table giving a comparison of the local expenditure of England and Wales with the net national expenditure of the United Kingdom, one finds that in the year 1898–99 the net national expenditure of the United Kingdom (*i.e.*, of England,

Wales, Scotland, and Ireland) amounted to 94 millions, whilst the local expenditure of England and Wales alone amounted to 93 millions; or, in other words, was 99 per cent. of the net national expenditure.

Another bad feature of local expenditure to which Mr. Schooling draws attention is the **increase in the proportion annually paid out of loans.** For instance, he says, in 1889-90, 13 per cent. was paid out of loans, but in 1901-02, 28 per cent. was paid out of loans.

In referring further to the vast increase in the relation of local debt to national debt, Mr. Schooling says: "Even in the later war years, when the National Debt was greatly augmented, we see that the local debt of England and Wales very nearly kept pace with the National Debt in its relative growth. The drop was merely from 47 per cent. to 46 per cent. of the National Debt."

When one couples this with Sir Robert Giffin's statement in *The Nineteenth Century* for June, 1906, that "while the Imperial Government has by comparison been holding its hand since the Boer War, repaying some portion at least of its new indebtedness, the local authorities together have been nullifying the effect of its measures to maintain the national credit," the full gravity of the case must be apparent to every thinking man.

"The future of local finance," continues Mr. Schooling, "has been mortgaged to pay for the present. In the year 1901-02 over 18 million pounds were paid as interest on loans, dividends on stock, &c., and, as already stated, 34 millions of the year's expenditure were paid out of loans, the total expenditure for the year being 121 million pounds."

"Reproductive Undertakings."

Not the least interesting portion of this most interesting article is that which deals with what are called "reproductive undertakings."

According to a Parliamentary return, to which Mr. Schooling refers, the number of these municipal corporations in England and Wales (excluding London) carrying on one or more repro-

ductive undertakings, is 299 out of a total of 317 corporations. The number of undertakings carried on by these 299 corporations amounts to no less than 1,060. The capital invested in these businesses on March 31st, 1902, states Mr. Schooling, was 121 millions. Of this amount, 117 millions were borrowed capital, of which 16 millions have been paid off, leaving 101 millions of debt upon these undertakings. **To meet this debt of 101 millions, the amount in Sinking Funds, &c., at 31st March, 1902, was $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions.**

The accounts supplied by the officials of these spending authorities, according to a condensed statement of Mr. Schooling, show an average yearly net profit of £378,000. Upon a capital of 121 millions, **this net profit of £378,000 represents 6s. 3d. yearly profit per £100 of capital.** The crux of the question, Mr. Schooling rightly points out, is whether the amount set aside for depreciation is sufficient or not.

This, he states, amounts to £193,000 yearly upon a capital of 121 millions. In other words, he says, **the amount set aside for depreciation is 3s. 2d. yearly per £100 of capital invested.**

Further, he informs us that 103 millions out of the 121 millions of capital are in water works, gas works, electricity supply, and tramways. These, he rightly states, necessitate a considerable amount for depreciation. "Certainly a 5 per cent. allowance, and probably more," says Mr. Schooling. Personally, we should have thought that 10 per cent. would have been by no means too high a figure to have allowed. But in this group, says Mr. Schooling, only £177,000 yearly is set aside for depreciation upon a capital of 103 millions. In other words, **3s. 5d. per year per £100 of capital is the average amount set aside for depreciation.**

Surely the amount set aside for depreciation has only to be stated thus as a percentage for any business man at once to grasp how wholly inadequate and insufficient it is?

Mr. Schooling then examines in detail this alleged profit, and sums up by stating: **"If we make an approximately**

adequate allowance for depreciation, we find that these 1,060 reproductive undertakings are being worked at a net yearly loss of 5½ million pounds."

Mr. Schooling next says that he has examined the detailed lists of every one of these 1,060 "reproductive undertakings," as they are called, and that he finds during the four years he has had them under observation "no fewer than 593 of these businesses entailed a charge upon the rates to meet the net yearly loss"; "and this," he says, "despite the fact that in the municipal accounts no adequate allowance has been made for depreciation."

In his summary, he states :—"593 of these undertakings are worked at a confessed loss, and of the remainder, 463 are worked at an alleged profit, shown on paper by omitting to provide for depreciation, and four other undertakings are alleged to yield neither profit nor loss."

Not the least instructive piece of information in Mr. Schooling's article is that from a detailed examination of the replies to the question put by the Local Government Board—"What is the average annual amount set apart for depreciation?" he ascertains that in only 88 out of the 1,060 cases of "reproductive undertakings" was any amount entered upon the return. It is difficult to imagine a more damning piece of evidence. Surely this should be sufficient to shatter the belief of the most credulous in what local authorities are pleased frequently to term "revenue-producing undertakings"?

In conclusion, Mr. Schooling says: "I maintain that the results herein disclosed, based upon the returns made by municipal officers, show local finance to be in an absolutely unsound condition. It is an unnecessary burden upon the ratepayer, and a serious drag upon the trade of our country. These local spending authorities who, in England and Wales alone, get rid of more than 10 millions *per month* of public money, are, by their own statements, shown to be incompetent and untrustworthy stewards."

In a letter to *The Morning Post* of August 3rd, 1906, Mr. J. Holt Schooling writes :—

“On July 30th one of your leading articles dealt with my paper ‘Local Finance’ in the August *Fortnightly Review*. Your writer asserts that it is unfair on my part to make an allowance for depreciation upon the capital spent by local authorities upon the plant, machinery, &c., of municipal works. And your writer asserts that this is unfair because ‘when any municipal undertaking—*e.g.*, a tramway—is built with borrowed capital, the loan generally has to be paid off in a number of years fixed with some reference to the probable life of the plant—that is to say, the loan would be paid off and the plant would become worthless at the same moment.’ In asserting this your writer begs the whole question. It happens that during the last twenty-six years I have had actual experience in computing sinking funds, and have had to advise my clients upon the proper provision to be set aside in many such affairs as miners’ relief funds, schemes for workmen contracting out of the Workmen’s Compensation Act, &c. And in these matters I am able to write from inside and practical knowledge of the things I discuss. . . . Speaking from actual knowledge, I say that your writer is wholly mistaken in his words quoted by me. These tramway debts will not be paid off within the average life of a tramway plant, and the result will be that the plant will be worn out before the debt is paid off. And that is why, if local finance was soundly administered, a yearly allowance for depreciation of plant should be made. This fallacy repeated by your writer is based upon insufficient knowledge. It is an injurious fallacy, because the persons who repeat it honestly believe that a sinking fund is a sort of magic process that causes to be unnecessary any allowances for the inevitable wear and tear of the plant and machinery of a tramway system.”

In a letter published in *The Contemporary Review* for October, 1906, Mr. Schooling enters into a detailed explanation why, in municipal trading, a proper allowance for depreciation is necessary. This letter is set out in full on page 72 of the Article on “Locomotion,” Vol. I.

The Cost of Municipal Trading.

Municipal indebtedness has risen, and is rising by leaps and bounds. The last complete returns yet available are for the year 1903–04. There is grave reason to believe, however, that the increase in the two subsequent years has been maintained at an even higher rate.

Local Loans. England and Wales.

The following are the outstanding loans of local authorities for England and Wales at the end of each of the undermentioned years :—

Purposes.	England and Wales.		
	1889-1890.	1902-1903.	1903-1904.
	£	£	£
Baths, cemeteries, electricity supply, gas works, harbours, piers, docks and quays, light railways, markets, tramways, and water-works	93,716,973	175,395,698	187,100,454
Other purposes ..	104,954,339	195,211,795	206,781,692
Total outstanding loans	198,671,312	370,607,493	393,882,146

Note.—The above statements are compiled from the returns issued by the Local Government Board.

[Extracted from the Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom, pages 48 and 49, 1891 to 1905. (Cd. 3092.)]

Rates compared with Reproductive Debt and Assessable Value.

Statement showing the average rates (excluding the Poor Rate) levied in seventy-eight boroughs in England and Wales in the year 1903, arranged according to reproductive debt and assessable value.

Proportion of reproductive debt to assessable value.	Number of Towns.	Average rates in the £ (excluding Poor Rate).
Under 50 per cent.	11	5s. 2d.
Between 50 per cent. and 100 per cent.	16	5s. 5d.
Between 100 per cent. and 200 per cent.	25	5s. 8d.
Over 200 per cent.	26	6s. 0d.

The Debt of London.

Turning to London alone, the Finance Committee of the London County Council, in their report for July 18th and 25th, 1906, state that a return has been prepared giving the total debt of London, &c., for the year 1904-05.

"The debt of the Metropolitan Water Board," state the Finance Committee, "now appears as a part of the debt of London, and is responsible for an increase of £37,476,522 in the debt outstanding, this amount being London's rateable proportion of the total net debt of the Water Board, which on 31st March, 1905, amounted to £45,943,557.

"The return shows that **the total net debt of London on 31st March, 1905, was £103,237,454, of which £48,297,619, or 46·8 per cent. was in respect of tramways, workmen's dwellings, water supply, electric lighting, and certain other revenue producing services,** the annual charges for which are, for the most part, met out of the revenue from such services. **The total annual charge for the year 1904-05 for interest and repayment in respect of the total net debt amounted to £5,296,816,** of which £3,882,408 was met out of the rates, and the balance, £1,414,408, or 26·7 per cent.,* from the earnings of revenue producing services.

"The total net debt, excluding the debt of the Metropolitan Water Board, has increased by £4,522,406, or $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., as compared with an increase of £3,306,425, or 5·7 per cent., in the previous year. Of the total increase, £2,916,606, or $64\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., was in respect of the remunerative undertakings. The percentage of the total net debt to rateable value has increased in the year from 153·53 to 254·30, or, excluding the debt of the Water Board, to 163·09.

"The total charge on the rates has increased by £240,022, or 6·6 per cent., as compared with an increase of £243,024, or 7·1 per cent., in the previous year. The equivalent rate in the £ of the charge has increased from 1s. 9·74d. to 1s. 10·90d."—(L.C.C. Agenda for July 31st, 1906, page 3.)

Sir Henry Fowler on Municipal Expenditure.

"The Rt. Hon. Sir Henry Fowler, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, speaking at the Mayoral banquet at Wolverhampton on November 9th, said the great moving factor in

* It will be observed from the above that whereas "revenue producing services" were responsible for 46·8 per cent. (or, nearly one-half) of the total net debt, these services only furnished 26·7 per cent. (or, just over one-quarter) of the amount allocated towards interest and re-payment.

the recent turnover in connection with the London Borough elections was the question of the rates of the Metropolis. A great many of the changes which had taken place in many of the larger cities of the Empire were attributable to the same cause, and **sooner or later there would have to be a limit to municipal expenditure.**"—*The Morning Post*, November 10th, 1906.

Lord Rosebery on Economy.

Lord Rosebery, in his recently published monograph on the late Lord Randolph Churchill, says : "It is a great disappointment in connection with our new or renewed democratic bodies, parliamentary and municipal, that economy has no friends."

The Effects of Municipal Extravagance.

Mr. Dixon Henry Davies, in an address * delivered at the meeting of the Incorporated Law Society, at Manchester, on October 10th, 1906, said :—

"Disastrous as has been their meddling in electrical affairs, it is a question whether in the department of finance the local authorities have not managed to accomplish even more mischief still. The expenditure of the local administration in 1889 was 55 millions as compared with 74 millions, the then amount of the net national expenditure.

"In 1901-02 the local expenditure had risen to 121 millions, exceeding by 28 millions what one may call the normal national expenditure, excluding, that is, the increase subsequent to the South African War outlay. Thirty years ago the debt of the local administration of Great Britain was less than 100 millions. In 1903-04 (the latest year of the returns) it had risen to £469,231,417. In England and Wales the local debt has more than quadrupled in the last thirty years. About half this debt was incurred for purposes supposed to be reproductive and advocated on the pretence that they would yield a profit to the relief of the rates. How far these speculations have been justified may be judged from the way in which the rates have moved. In the last thirteen years the rates and taxes paid by the railway companies (not including income tax and Government duty) have more than doubled.

"The famous French economist, M. Leroy Beaulieu, recently wrote : 'Local loans in England often total 40 millions in one year, whereas in France it is rare for half that sum to be

* This address has been re-published by the London Municipal Society.

raised. **This enormous and colossal borrowing by localities in Great Britain fills us with amazement in France, and seems to us to be the weak point in British finance.** Undoubtedly England has benefited from the money spent on the educational system, the hygienic conditions have improved, but it seems impossible to account for the fantastical growth of local expenditure without allowing for some exaggeration and waste. The policy adopted in many towns of systematically municipalising services of common interest is the point which astonishes us most. There is no doubt that in these days extravagance is more to be feared in municipal than in national finance.'

"M. Beaulieu uses the right expression; municipal extravagance is to be feared. It is feared, and the alarm keeps the stock markets and the money market in a continual state of depression. How could it be otherwise? There is hardly a town of any size whose Finance Committee is not waiting to take advantage of any rift in the financial clouds in order to place a cool million or two of Corporation stock. They are bound to do so. The operations which the authorities have so light-heartedly entered upon involve financial difficulties of the largest and most persistent character. Take tramways alone. It has been calculated that to equip this country with electric tramways on the same scale as the United States would require an immediate expenditure of eighty millions, and a progressive capital outlay of millions per annum on the top of that would be necessary to keep the system up to date. Modern municipalists won't hear of any tramways in private hands. Have they considered what this means in financial commitment? Of course pressure is bound to be put upon the authorities to keep our towns as well supplied with transport facilities as other civilised communities, and, as a consequence, their financial necessities are bound to continue to hang like a pall over the markets.

Effects resulting from excessive Municipal Borrowing.

"Not only is the price of gilt-edged securities lowered, but the price of money is raised by this limitless municipal borrowing. Finding it impossible to place their stocks, the Corporations are now making Bill issues.* That is to say, they are calling upon the banking community to encash their bare acceptances on the expectation, which is entirely problematic, that they will be able at the maturity of the Bills to sell their stocks and so retire their acceptances.

* For an example of this, cf. L. C. C. Finance, Part I, Vol. II.

“This seems to be a thoroughly unsound device. The difference between the municipal bill and the ordinary mercantile bill is that the mercantile bill has its origin in a transaction such as a contract of sale which is reasonably certain to put the drawer in funds to the amount of the bill before its maturity. The *raison d'être* of the municipal bill is a permanent expenditure the only proper resource for which (*viz.*, the funded debt of the town) is at the time unmarketable. The renewal of the Corporation bill is almost as certain a result of its issue as is the discharge of the mercantile bill by payment in due course. It follows that while the mercantile bill effects a husbanding of the currency resources of the country by avoiding their employment where the transaction carries evidence on the face of its sufficient credit basis, the Corporation bill has an opposite effect, denuding the banks of their deposits and locking up what should be floating cash in unrealisable assets. In fact, the bill is used, not for floating over a temporary occasion, but to put off the meeting of a permanent liability.

A Deterrent to Private Enterprise.

“What chance has the trader of getting reasonable banking facilities when he is placed in competition with the Corporation of his own town, which thinks nothing of taking up two or three millions at a time on short notice? He suffers in two ways. The Corporation both diminishes the supply of ready cash by absorbing it in permanent expenditure, and also competes with the trader for what is left. The consequence to trade must be disastrous. If the merchant does not get credit the mill does not get the order. If the merchant has to pay dear for his credit he has to pay the manufacturer cheap for his goods. **The result is a reduced demand for labour or a demand at reduced wages.**

“The effect on the stock market is similar. What chance has a railway company of floating a debenture issue at a reasonable price when it finds itself in the market in competition with a hundred local authorities, who are ready to pay anything up to 4 per cent. upon funded local loans, which are by statute made admissible for trustee investment regardless of the degree of indebtedness of the town upon whose credit they purport to be issued? There is not a railway company in the country that is not putting off the execution of promising schemes on account of the cost of raising capital.

“The chief sufferers by these contractions of enterprise are of course the working class for whose interests the local authorities profess so much sympathy. Their actions belie their professions. **By making money dearer the local**

administration has necessarily made employment scarcer and labour cheaper.

“It has inflicted vast losses on everybody who is dependent on credit, including the Imperial Government. Instead of promoting the greatest good of the greatest number, it has sedulously promoted the greatest good of the money-lender.

“This financial mismanagement has, moreover, had another indirect, but not the less disastrous effect. It has gone a long way to deprive British enterprise of one of its vital and preservative forces, viz., the adventure and trained judgment of the capitalist. What need for the investor to run a commercial risk when there is a plethora of rate-guaranteed securities which call for no inquiry into the merits of the scheme for which the money is being raised, for whether it succeeds or not the interest is assured, being charged upon the whole of the assessable property of an English borough? The function of the capitalist is lowered. He is relieved of responsibility, and consequently of the necessity for bold and shrewd adventure. What wonder that it is more and more difficult to get the right kind of capitalist to lend to home enterprises that invaluable influence and guidance which is impelled and supported by a large personal backing?

“The question remains, amidst all this financial disadvantage—Is there any compensating gain? Who is a penny the better for all this limitless engagement of public credit, and all this diversion of resources, personal and pecuniary, from commercial channels? The answer is simple. Nobody is advantaged except the officials who direct the municipal concerns, and the relatively small number of favoured workmen who are fortunate enough to secure employment in them.

The Manipulation of Municipal Accounts.

“Of course the municipal accounts are made to look as though the trading committees were earning a profit, but everybody knows that it is a mere sham. The authorities being monopolists can extort what they choose for the public services and call it a profit, but in many cases the profit is produced by the simple process of manipulating the figures—part of the cost of preparing the streets for a tramway is charged to the improvement account, the land for the municipal houses is charged to the housing account at less than its cost, and so forth. The circumstance that the Electric Supply Authority happens also to be the Lighting Authority also affords local bodies an opportunity for gymnastics in accountancy.

“A flagrant instance of this ostrich-like self-deception is furnished by the electrical accounts of the authorities. These

for 190 municipal undertakings exhibit an expenditure of £27,000,000, on which a profit is shown of £339,000 for the twelve months. But examination reveals that on this vast amount of electrical stock, **only 1 per cent. is allowed for depreciation**—depreciation of plant, the bulk of which, according to a recent report of a House of Commons Committee ought by rights to be scrapped at once as incurably antiquated. Obviously it is a gross misrepresentation to deduct only 1 per cent. for depreciation, and then claim a profit on the face of the account. The simple fact is that a large proportion of the vast sums which the authorities are locking up in these trading concerns represent not merely an unproductive investment but a waste of capital. In a word, the local administration is engaged in dissipating the resources of the country and stifling its industries.”

How Municipal Trading Accounts are Manipulated.

The Evening News, in an article entitled “‘Cooking’ Accounts to Cover Heavy Losses,” on October 29th, 1906, contains some striking instances of failure attending municipal trading. The article says:—

“A prominent plank in the Progressive Socialist platform is municipal trading. The real object of it is to introduce Socialism. The plea advanced, however, in support of municipal trading is that a cheaper and better service is given by municipal enterprise as compared with private enterprise. With regard to public electric lighting in London, municipal effort has proved to be a disastrous failure.

“Sixteen London boroughs have gone into the highly speculative trade of supplying electric light. The capital invested now stands at about $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions.

“Up to March 31st, 1905, in three cases an aggregate sum of £18,392 had been paid over to the relief of the rates, and in seven cases calls had been made on the rates to the extent of £56,227.

“The difficulty of arriving at the exact financial results of any municipal trading concern is obvious to the most casual observer of municipal methods of finance. A private firm or company cannot evade its debts by getting anybody else to pay them. A municipal electric undertaking can, and does, do so in many cases.

“First, it often gets part of its clerical work done for nothing by the borough council staff. This the ratepayer has to

bear. Then municipal concerns charge very heavily for public lighting. They are, in fact, good customers to themselves.

“They have one price for the private consumer, and an inflated price for the ratepayers as a body. Islington electric light works, for instance, charges more per unit for street lighting than it does for private consumption.

“It is, perhaps, not so much that a higher charge per unit is often made for electric street lighting, as that by an extravagant system many more lamps are used than is necessary. It is a notorious fact that municipal electric lighting is grossly wasteful in its methods.

“Grouping the various boroughs into comparative tables, we can tell whether municipal electric lighting is wasteful or not.

“In the following table the boroughs having municipal electric works are starred thus*.

Borough.	Street mileage.	Cost of Public lighting. £	Cost per mile. £
*Islington ..	124	32,170	259
*Hackney ..	104	16,215	156
Wandsworth ..	176	17,681	100
Lambeth.. ..	148½	13,573	91
Camberwell ..	130½	11,752	90
Lewisham ..	108	7,809	72

“The result given by this group shows that municipal electricity results in street lighting at a cost of £207 10s. per mile; as against a cost of £88 5s. per mile in boroughs where no municipal concern is fattening on the rates.

“Islington particularly is in a deplorable plight. In reply to a recent question by Mr. Councillor Saint in the Council, it was admitted that in the past quarter —

100 miles of roads were lighted by gas costing..	£4,077
20 miles of roads were lighted by municipal electricity costing	£5,245

That gives public company's gas at £40 a mile, the municipal electricity at £262 a mile, or more than 6½ times as much.

“St. Pancras, Stepney, Battersea, and Bermondsey all possess municipal electric works. These boroughs cover a total of 326½ miles of roads, which they light at an aggregate cost of £63,064, and at an average cost per mile of £186 15s.

“This figure is extravagant enough in all conscience as it is, but what it would total were adequate depreciation and

establishment charges added the jugglers of municipal accounts alone can tell us.

Borough.	Mileage.	Cost. £	Cost per mile. £
*Poplar	65½	12,702	192
*Southwark	65	11,398	175
Bethnal Green	40	4,797	120
Deptford	52	3,847	74

This table shows that **municipal trading boroughs do their work at an average cost per mile of £183 10s., while non-trading boroughs do it at a cost of £97 per mile.**

Borough.	Mileage.	Cost per Light. £	Cost per mile. £
*Hampstead	57	11,658	204
*St. Marylebone	60	11,924	198
*Fulham	56	10,858	194
Paddington	59½	10,472	176
*Hammersmith	55	8,374	152
Greenwich	58	4,616	79

This group gives the result that municipal enterprise lights at an average of £187 per mile.

“Non-trading boroughs do the work at £127 10s. per mile.

“Of course, it is true that gas costs about one-third more in North London than it does on the south side of the Thames, but even that cannot account for the extraordinary difference between efficient gas lighting of our streets and the same service by municipal electricity.

“Why should the ratepayers be mulcted in enormous expense for street lighting in order that a ‘profit’ may be shown on the municipal electric undertaking?

The municipal depreciation fund is very small—it only totals £108,313 upon an outstanding capital of nearly four and a half millions.

“Many London borough electricity works are practically obsolete. They have spent huge sums of money and have no assets to show for it. . . .”

Municipal Trading and the Relief of Rates !

The Progressive organ, *The Municipal Journal*, in its issue of November 16th, 1906, published a return under the headline,

“Municipal Trading Relieves Rates.” The return is compiled by Mr. Carter, of Preston.

Examination shows that the so-called relief of rates is not necessarily derived from municipal trading, but includes rents of estates which have come into the hands of the Corporations at various times, and various other sources of income which are quite outside the sphere of municipal trading. The Progressives, however, conveniently lump all the money not directly derived from rates and describe it as profits on municipal undertakings.

Curiously enough, some towns, on the showing of the very return with which we are dealing, are at one and the same time subsidising trading undertakings out of the rates, and receiving relief from so-called rents and profits. The following are a few examples :—

				Rates in aid of municipal trading. (Trams.)	Relief from profits and rents.
				s. d.	d.
Ashton-under-Lyne	..	..	..	0 6½	5¼
				(Water.)	
Bacup	..	..	..	1 10½	4
				(Trams.)	
Blackburn	..	..	..	0 2	¼
				(Water.)	
Bootle	..	..	..	0 6	¾
				(Docks.)	
Bristol	..	..	..	0 9	3½
				(Water.)	
Swansea	..	..	..	0 11	8
				(Water.)	
Wakefield	..	..	..	0 11	¾
				(Artisans' Dwellings.)	
Wolverhampton	..	..	..	0 4¼	4

These are but a few examples, but they show the absurdity of the arguments which the Progressives deduce from their carefully selected list of towns.

The following table shows the total rates levied in 1901-2 (as shown in the Progressive Municipal Year Book) and for the

current year in the towns where, according to the returns before us, the greatest profits are made from municipal trading :—

	Rates levied			Supposed profits and rents equal to rate of	
	1901-2.	1906-7.		1906-7.	rents equal to rate of
	s. d.	s. d.		s. d.	s. d.
London (average)	.. 6 9 $\frac{1}{4}$	(1905-6) 7 6			
Ashton-under-Lyne	.. 6 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 5 $\frac{1}{2}$		0 5 $\frac{1}{4}$	
Brighouse	.. 7 8	8 8		0 10	
Bradford	.. 7 2	9 0		0 3 $\frac{3}{4}$	
Dewsbury	.. 7 11	9 0		1 0	
East Ham	.. 8 8	9 7		0 4	
Halifax	.. 7 6	9 4		0 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Leeds	.. 7 3	8 10 $\frac{1}{2}$		0 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Middlesbrough	.. 8 1	9 4		0 1 $\frac{1}{4}$	
Norwich	.. 8 6	9 5		0 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Preston	.. 7 10	8 11		0 7	
West Ham	.. 9 8	10 4		0 2	

If these are the best examples that the *Municipal Journal* can produce to show how rates are reduced by municipal trading, it is difficult to believe that Londoners will be induced thereby to embark on any further experiments in that direction. If the profits are genuine and not mere paper figures, and if they relieve the rates, how is it that rates have risen to such an alarming extent ?

L.C.C. Working Class Dwellings' Accounts.

The Finance Committee, in their report dated 18th July, 1906, state :—

“ WORKING CLASS DWELLINGS.

“ Under this head the district auditor calls attention to the departure from the practice hitherto followed of charging to the dwellings account in the case of dwellings erected for the rehousing of persons displaced under Improvement Acts a sum in respect of the valuation of the site as earmarked for dwellings, according to the estimate of the Council's valuer. The auditor says that this course, which has been hitherto followed, has always appeared to him to be reasonable, but **in the year 1904-5, there were three cases in which the Council charged as the value of the site, sums less than the valuer's estimates,** and he gives particulars of these three cases in his report. He states that he has passed the accounts as submitted to him, but trusts ‘ that the Council will give instructions for transfers representing full housing values to be made between the different accounts,

as it would appear that the dwellings' capital accounts have been considerably undercharged.' . . . On 22nd July, 1902, we reported upon the case of the Ropemaker's Fields site, one of the three cases referred to by the auditor, on which Brightlingsea Buildings have now been erected to rehouse persons displaced by the Rotherhithe tunnel works. We pointed out that **this site** was scheduled to the Rotherhithe Tunnel Act for rehousing purposes, and **cost about £12,000 to acquire**, and that **the valuer had placed its value for housing purposes at £1,000**. The Housing of the Working Classes Committee, however, estimated that, even if the site were taken to be as of no value, they could not build dwellings upon it without showing a deficiency, and they asked that the dwellings scheme should be subsidised by a payment out of the Rotherhithe tunnel capital account of the amount of this estimated deficiency, viz., £397. . . . **The Council decided on 29th July, 1902, that the value of the land should be taken at nil, and that a capital subsidy should be made of £397.**

"The Housing of the Working Classes Committee now point out that in spite of the fact that these dwellings are built in the most economical manner possible, they leave, even with the subsidy in question, an annual loss to the Council. . . . In another case, . . . viz., that of Bekesbourne Buildings, on the London Street, Ratcliff, site, also in connection with the Rotherhithe Tunnel, the Council decided to adopt the views put forward by the Housing of the Working Classes Committee that the value of the land in this case should be taken at nil, and that, in addition, the dwellings account should be credited with a capital sum of £6,535, that being the sum estimated by the Housing Committee to be required to preserve equilibrium, notwithstanding that the valuer's estimate of the value of the site for housing purposes was £3,050."—(L.C.C. Minutes, pages 291 and 292.)

Municipal v. Private Enterprise.

A striking instance of the saving frequently resulting from having recourse to private enterprise, is to be met with in the report of the Asylums Committee for June 19th, 1906 (*Cf. L.C.C. Agenda, June 26th, page 99*).

In this report the Committee state :—

"Claybury Asylum.—Supply of Gas, Coke, and Tar.

"We have decided to discontinue the manufacture of gas

at Claybury Asylum, and have accepted the offer of the Ilford Gas Company to supply gas to the Asylum at the following rates :—

					s. d.
At 2s. 6½d. per 1,000 cubic feet				{ when the ordinary selling price to the ordinary consumer is }	3 2
At 2s. 5½d.	„	„	..	„	3 0
At 2s. 4½d.	„	„	..	„	2 10
At 2s. 4d.	„	„	..	„	2 8
At 2s. 3½d.	„	„	..	„	2 6

“ These terms have been agreed upon a basis of a minimum consumption of 3,500,000 cubic feet a year. The Gas Company will lay the necessary piping from their main to the Asylum gasholder.

“ We have also accepted the Company's offer to supply to the Asylum (as required) coke at 10s. 6d. per chaldron, *i.e.*, 17s. 6d. per ton, and tar at 5s. per barrel of 40 gallons, *i.e.*, 1½d. per gallon. The agreement for the supply of coke and tar will be entered into for seven years.

“ The average cost of manufacture of gas at the Asylum gas works for the five years ended 31st March, 1905, has averaged 2s. 11½d. per 1,000 cubic feet, allowance being made for the value of the coke and tar produced. The capital charges on the gas works buildings and plant, work out at 4½d. per 1,000 cubic feet, so that the total cost of production is 3s. 4d. per 1,000 cubic feet. This is higher than the highest rate at which the Company have offered to supply gas, and we understand that the Company are adopting new methods of manufacture which render the prospect of a reduction in the price of their gas by no means remote. . . . ”

The Food Supplying Companies and High Rates.

Mr. George Edwards, on November 5th, 1906, in presiding at the meeting of the Aerated Bread Company, said :—

“ . . . Regarding the increase in rates and taxes, he was afraid they could not expect to get any relief until the Borough Councils gave up municipal trading. If it were not so serious the situation in which the commercial classes were compelled to find a great portion of the money to enable their municipal masters to speculate in tramways, electric lighting, and other enterprises, would be like a scene from a comic opera. For

electric lighting the company dealt with several Borough Councils and several electric lighting companies, and **he found that their light cost them 116 per cent. more from the borough councils than that supplied to them by private companies. . . .**—*The Morning Post*, November 6th, 1906.

How Municipal Ventures are Subsidised.

At the ordinary half-yearly general meeting of the Gas Light and Coke Company, held at the Company's offices, Westminster, on August 3rd, 1906, Mr. Corbet Woodall (the Governor), in the course of his address, said: "In nearly 1,000 cases in our district gas lighting on modern lines has entirely displaced electricity; in more than 1,000 other cases electricity has been largely superseded by gas. In all these instances the consumer—whether private undertaking or public authority—has had no interest in the sale either of gas or electricity. Where, however, municipal authorities have committed themselves to trading in electricity, the tale is a different one. Whereas such important bodies as the Office of Works, the City Corporation, the City of Westminster, and the London County Council (none of whom have embarked on the sale of either gas or electricity) give careful and impartial consideration to the claim of the rival illuminants, basing their judgment upon comparative cost and efficiency—choosing electricity for some purposes and gas for others—the Company find that local authorities owning electricity supply undertakings are guided by other considerations. As an example, one Borough Council asked this Company and their own electricity committee for quotations for improving the lighting of an important street. We submitted a scheme which would have made that thoroughfare one of the best lighted in the kingdom. The lighting committee of the borough, after very carefully considering the matter, reported that they had come to the conclusion that, 'as the incandescent gas system is lighted from double the number of points, and the lights are so much nearer the pavement, the lighting of the street will be more easily diffused and much more effective by this system than by electricity. Apart from these considerations, the cost to the borough for gas will be considerably less. The committee therefore recommend that the Council adopt the scheme and tender of the Gas Light and Coke Company.' **When the matter came before the Borough Council, however, the recommendation was rejected, and the job given to the Electricity Committee, on the ground that 'loyalty' to the Borough's own undertaking must outweigh every other consideration.** The circumstance that the Company is a large ratepayer in the borough, and would have contributed an appreciable sum in rates on the gas consumed for street lighting, adds piquancy

to this illustration of municipal trading in practice. This is only one case out of many of a similar kind. Service of inferior value is accepted at much greater cost; and we not only lose the business which should be ours, but have to pay, in common with the general public, increased rates in consequence. This is not an occasion on which to discuss the general question of municipal trading, but we are justified in protesting against the unfair treatment meted to us by metropolitan authorities owning electric undertakings."

The Standard, in an article on July 12th, 1906, says:—

"In Southwark the charge for public lighting in 1904-5 was £3,579, and deducting £641 for maintenance of lamps, £2,938, or 2·52d. per unit. A company offered to supply current at 1½d. per unit, or a saving of £1,192. As the Borough Council took no action, the Company sent the correspondence to the Local Government Board, and stated that it was heavily rated in respect of its undertakings, whilst the Borough Council was actually competing with it at the expense of the rates. The Company's undertaking, representing a capital expenditure of £39,160, was called upon to pay the borough rates amounting to £265, while the electrical undertaking of the Borough Council, with a capital expenditure of £82,727, was only charged with rates to the extent of £283. The Company notice that the sum of £800 spent in opposition to Electric Power Bills last Session, instead of being debited to the electric supply undertaking, was charged to the general rate. In Bermondsey the charge for public lighting in the year 1904-5 was £4,747, or, less renewals and repairs, £3,503, making the rate for current 3d. per unit. The Company offered to supply at 1½d. per unit, or a saving of £1,751. The Electricity Committee declined the offer. The Company accordingly sent the correspondence to the Local Government Board, and stated that on their capital expenditure of £39,949 they were called upon to pay borough rates in Bermondsey and Rotherhithe amounting to £341 in the year 1905, while the electric undertaking of the Borough Council, with a capital expenditure of £105,556, was only charged with rates to the extent of £414. No sum was debited to the electric lighting accounts for law and Parliamentary charges, the whole of which expenditure was transferred to the general rate account."

Reasons against Municipal Trading.

Some of the chief reasons against municipal trading were well summed up in a leading article in *The Morning Post* for July 30th, 1906:—

"It is in the nature of things that municipal trading, like all other municipal action, should tend to be less efficient than

private action. The rare spirits who can really give to public affairs the same unflagging interest and intelligence that they would to their own are not enough to go round; they are lost in the mass of three hundred thousand average members of local governing bodies. Municipal action is forced upon society in certain cases by the absence of private enterprise—as in the case of roads and drains—by the dread of private monopoly, or by the imperative need for controlling special industries, such as slaughtering cattle, in the defence of public health. But the suppression of private enterprise should always be the last resource—after regulation has failed.”

Lord Wemyss on Municipal Trading.

In the House of Lords on July 16th, 1906, on the third reading of the London County Council General Powers Bill, the Earl of Wemyss said :—

“ I am old enough to recollect the day when every town was lighted, not by gas, but by oil. Suppose in those days you had had municipal authorities of the same ambitious character as the County Council. They would have had a fleet of whalers, and would have brought their blubber here and made their own oil. Then came gas, and now electricity, and the cost of substituting these different supplies would have been saddled upon the shoulders of the ratepayers.

“ We are now perfectly satisfied with electric light, but the Marquess of Ripon, the leader of the Opposition, hit the right nail on the head when he said the other day that there is no limit to invention. What will happen? Some unknown illuminant may be introduced, and the electrical plant may become so much dead weight round the necks of the London ratepayers. I therefore venture to think that, in the interests of progress, of free trade, of private trade, and of the London ratepayer, this municipal trading ought not to be allowed. What does this trading mean? You have now at the head of the Local Government Board Mr. John Burns. What is Mr. Burns’s view of municipal trading? Why, that everything in the shape of production and distribution should be in the hands of a labour-governed State. Therefore, I hold that every step in this direction is a step in the direction of State omnipotence. During a discussion some years ago at the Society of Arts, I put this question to Mr. Burns :—

“ ‘ Do you or do you not, mean that all the instruments of production are to be in the hands of a labour-governed State ? ’

“ Mr. Burns simply bowed his head, and said ‘ Yes.’ Therefore, whatever you do in this direction is leading to this end.

“ How does this question of municipal trading affect national progress ? You are always in the infancy of invention. You have progressed hitherto in this way. Science discovers and invents, and public enterprise has taken up the invention and speculated upon it. But if, when the invention succeeds, it is to be seized by the State, progress will be stopped, because if this is generally done, no one will take up inventions. . . You want an audit of the accounts of these corporations, and there ought to have been in the original Act a limit to their rating power. Instead of having their hands in everybody’s pockets they ought to have been limited as to the rate they should be entitled to raise. If that had been done, instead of the rivalry which now exists as to which of them should have the biggest concerns, the rivalry would be as to which could do the most with the money at their disposal.”—(Extracted from the Authorised Debates, cols. 1,260 and 1,261.)

Municipal Opposition to Private Enterprise.

Monopolies are always impediments to progress. In many instances, municipal trading ventures are in the nature of monopolies. We find, then, that when a Council has obtained powers and invested money it jealously watches rivals. Monopoly of course can fix its own price, the presence of rivals tends dangerously to decrease the prospects of municipal trading. It is, therefore, not difficult to find instances where municipalities have attempted to safeguard their own ventures by acting oppressively towards rival concerns. An illustration of this is to be found in the case of Newcastle. In 1905 the North Eastern Railway Company sought powers to run motor omnibuses, but the Corporation of Newcastle itself owned tramways, and therefore offered a strong opposition to the proposition. The Committee of the House of Commons granted the powers under certain restrictions, but the Council sought to prevent the Railway Company from taking up passengers *en route*. The Council wished to monopolise the traffic, and were anxious to exclude all competitors. Mr. Bonar Law, the then Parliamentary Secretary of the Board of Trade, opposed the Council’s restrictive amendment and said in the House of Commons :

“ It was beginning to be a question whether the House should direct the municipalities, or whether the municipalities should control the House.”

In the Parliamentary Session of 1901 there were several Electric Power Bills in Committee; amongst them were the Lancashire and Yorkshire Bill, and the Nottingham and Derby Bill. The proposals put forward in these private Bills were for the generating of electricity on a huge scale, with stations, carefully selected for economy in working, at the coal-pit head. In this way, it would have been possible to supply electricity at cheaper rates than municipalities situated at a distance from the coal-pit could possibly do. Had municipalities been influenced by the desire to secure for their ratepayers electricity at the cheapest rates, they would have supported these Power Bills. Instead of this, they strenuously opposed them for the only reason that they were themselves anxious to undertake the supply.

Another illustration of the interference of municipalities with private enterprise is furnished in the case of Blackpool. When the Blackpool Corporation bought up the tramways, they refused any longer to issue licences for omnibuses.

Detailed references to the failure of municipal trading in the various services of the London County Council will be found under the appropriate heads. See articles on "Locomotion," "L.C.C. Steamboat Service," "Housing," &c. Reference should also be made to L.C.C. Finance, Part II.

Trade Union Strikers and Municipal Pressure.

"An important principle," says *The Morning Post* of October 9th, 1906, "is involved in the strike of painters and coachbuilders at the extensive works of the Brush Electrical Engineering Company at Loughborough, and the outcome is being watched with great interest by the owners of similar undertakings all over the country. The principle which is sought to be enforced by the Trades Unions concerned is that the rates of wages paid in London, Manchester, and the largest towns for workmen of the highest skill shall also prevail in the case of less expert workmen in small provincial towns. In other words, it means that great firms who, at the cost of several hundreds of thousands of pounds, have removed into the country where their workmen can secure comfortable cottages of six rooms at 5s. per week, where they can get a garden allotment,

and where they have to pay no railway or tramway fares to reach their work, and where they can get all their meals at home, are to have no consideration of any kind in return. . . .

“ These and similar appeals were unavailing, and not only are the painters and body-builders out on strike, but coercion is being applied in a new way, so as if possible to interfere with the employment of the workmen in other departments. **Every municipality with whom the company is doing business is being strenuously urged to cease giving orders for Loughborough cars and to cancel orders already placed. This has already been done by the corporations of Manchester and Sheffield** under the fair wage clause in the general conditions of the contracts, although the Company claims to be paying rates above those which prevail in the Leicestershire districts. . . . The works are closely watched by pickets, and men coming to take the place of those on strike are either sent away or hooted by hostile crowds of women and children in the streets.”

LOCOMOTION.

THE adequate provision, and proper regulation and control of cheap and effective public locomotion, are matters of vital concern to all great urban communities. Nowhere in the world are they more important than in London, with its enormous population, its congested central district, and the gigantic area over which its suburbs and outlying towns extend. Several hundred thousand persons require to be brought into central London by train, tram, and other means of transport every morning, and to be carried back before night. The comfort, the well-being, and health of the inhabitants of the Metropolis, and particularly of those who belong to the industrial working classes, are involved in the manner in which this great traffic problem is solved.

The Progressives of the London County Council have endeavoured to claim for themselves a monopoly of interest in this question, and have attempted to pose as the special patrons and promoters of cheap public locomotion. At the same time, they have represented the Municipal Reform party as indifferent to the subject, or actively hostile to the extension of the tramway system. This is entirely untrue. The Progressives have as little right to arrogate to themselves the credit for all recent improvements in Metropolitan passenger transport as they have to suggest that such improvements have been impeded or delayed by their opponents.

The Municipal Reform Policy in regard to Tramways and Traffic.

The following statement of the policy of the Party in regard to tramways and traffic is taken from the Municipal Reform Manifesto dated December 4th, 1906.

The Municipal Reform Party “will feel bound to continue the policy which has been adopted by the Council, of working the tramways itself, but they will enforce the necessity of conducting the business on sound financial principles, with ample provision for renewals and reserve funds, and for a reasonable contribution from the tramway account towards the cost of street widening for tramway purposes. It will be their aim to improve the means of locomotion and transport in London and its suburbs. With this object, they will urge the immediate appointment of a Traffic Board, as recommended by the Royal Commission, in order that there may be a regular and systematic examination and control of Municipal and private schemes, leading to the gradual adoption of an harmonious plan of traffic for the entire area of Greater London.”

The fact is, that the Progressives, according to their custom, have regarded the Traffic problem largely from the point of view of politics and municipal socialism. They may be, as they profess, anxious to place better facilities in the way of working class travellers ; but they are obviously quite as anxious to secure a large increase of municipal management and direct employment by the County Council.

The Tramway Policy of the Progressive and Moderate Parties.

It is a common thing for the Progressive Party to commend their cause to-day by reference to the history of their Tramway policy in the past. That history is to a large degree legendary. They are too fond of claiming for themselves the advantage of every good thing which has been done by the Council, and they do not scruple to ignore any blunders for which they themselves have been responsible.

In spite of Progressive statements to the contrary, the need of efficient, rapid, and cheap methods of transit in London has always been fully recognised by the Moderate Party. The latter have been keenly alive to the large responsibilities which fall upon the L.C.C., both with regard to direct municipal action, and also in the control and encouragement of private enterprise.

The Tramways Act, 1870.

By the Tramways Act of 1870, passed under the Administration of the late Mr. Gladstone, private effort in the construction and improvement of tramways was severely handicapped. The Tramways Act gives only a 21 years' life to a company, and at the end of that period the undertaking becomes purchasable by the local authority. In the early '90's, great advances were made in tramway traction in other countries. American cities were served by electric tramways, and persons wondered why electric tramways were not constructed in London. The reason was that companies, whose undertakings had then only two or three years of life to run, were naturally loth to introduce a system of electric traction, only to be bought out in a short time at a "scrap" price by the municipality. By the Act of 1870, nothing is paid by the local authority for goodwill, but only the value of the rolling stock, permanent way, &c., are computed in the price.* When private enterprise is charged with lack of progress in regard to tramways, the blame should be rightly attributed to the ill-advised legislation of 1870, which placed our private tramway enterprise in chains, and then expected it to make as rapid progress as the free, unfettered tramway undertakings in the United States have made.

Progressive Lease of Tramway Lines, 1891.

That was the position of affairs in 1891, when $4\frac{3}{4}$ miles of the London Street Company's lines became purchasable by the L.C.C. The Council decided to purchase that small section. What happened? They did not work the lines, for it would not have been profitable to do so. The Progressive Party leased the undertaking, and received a rental which gave a return of 5 per cent. on the capital invested.† Therefore, when Progressives condemn the system of leasing tramways to companies, the fact should be emphasised that **the Progressive Party were the first to institute the practice in London.**

*See Section 43 of the Act of 1870.

† L.C.C. Minutes, 1891, p. 1059.

The Position regarding the Northern Lines, 1892.

In 1892, 19 miles, out of a total of $35\frac{1}{2}$ miles, of the North Metropolitan Tramways became purchasable. Those 19 miles of purchasable lines were not consecutive, but were split up into sections and inextricably interwoven with the rest of the system. The whole tramway system of London was not laid down at once. Parts of the lines were built at different times under various Acts, and became liable to purchase at different dates.

The position can best be described by reference to the Minutes of the L.C.C. for May, 1896 :—"The tramways of both companies have been constructed at various dates and under different Acts of Parliament ; and, although about half of these tramways have already come under the operation of the purchase clause of the Tramways Act of 1870, there are several lengths of tramway which will not do so for varying periods, the last piece becoming purchasable under that clause in the year 1910.

"The following table shows the mileage with decimal fractions, and the dates at which the lines would become purchasable :—

	Years	1898.	1900.	1903.	1905.	1906.	1908.	1909.	1910.
	Miles.	Mls.	Mls.	Mls.	Mls.	Mls.	Mls.	Mls.	Mls.
London Street ..	1·84	·90	·61	·11	1·95	2·87	·50	—	—
North Metropolitan	12·88	—	·63	·75	1·63	1·25	·50	·63	—

"Taking the London Street Company's line first, the Caledonian Road line becomes purchasable in 1898 ; that in Prince of Wales Road, &c., in 1900 ; that in Pentonville Road in 1903 ; the doubling of one portion of the Fortress Road line in 1905, and of another portion in 1906 ; the Southampton Road, Fleet Road (part of), and Kentish Town Road lines in the same year ; the lines in Fleet Road (part of), Southend Green, Gray's Inn Road, Highgate Road, Chalk Farm Road, and Ferdinand Street, and the doubling of the Junction Road line in 1908 ; and the junction lines between Caledonian and Pentonville Roads, and between Gray's Inn Road and Pentonville Road, in 1909.

“The North Metropolitan Company’s lines in Grove Road (part of), Canonbury Road, New North Road (part of), Shoreditch, Cazenove Street, Whitechapel High Street (part of), Whitechapel Road, Mile End Road, Bow Road, Dalston Road, Graham Road, Holloway Road, Seven Sisters Road (part of), Liverpool Road, City Road, and Finsbury Square and Pavement become purchasable in 1898; in Green Lanes in 1903; in West India Dock Road, Great Eastern Street (part of), and Commercial Road (part of) in 1905; in Clerkenwell Road in 1906; in Leman Street and Dock Street in 1909; and in Stamford Hill and Seven Sisters Road (part of) in 1910.”—(*L.C.C. Minutes, 19th May, 1896, p. 555.*)

So that it will be seen that the position was extremely complicated.

A deadlock ensued. The Company refused to sell the whole system, of which the L.C.C. could not secure total possession until 1910. In this state of affairs, the Moderate Party, on December 17th, 1895, proposed and obtained the passage of a resolution that the Tramways Committee of the L.C.C. should be authorised to consider any proposals that might be made by any Tramway Company to the Council. That was a wise proposal.

Upon that, the North Metropolitan Tramways Company wrote to the Council to ask whether the Council “were prepared to consider a proposal for the immediate sale to the Council of the tramways of the two companies within the county, and for a subsequent lease to the first-named Company (the North Metropolitan Tramways Co.) of the whole of those lines, and also of that portion of the undertaking of the London Street Company already purchased by the Council, and leased to that Company.”

On the 23rd of June, 1896, the Finance Committee reported “. . . that the proposed purchase by agreement of the whole of the lines is the more advantageous to the Council, because of the larger rent accruing in the earlier years, and of the saving of upwards of £100,000 in the purchase money.” (*See page 705, L.C.C. Minutes, 1896.*)

On the 20th of October, 1896, the Tramways Committee reported that they had considered “. . . what would be the best course for the Council, as representing the public, to pursue with regard to the whole of the tramways in London. We found that there were three ways in which the Council could deal with them. It could—

(a) Acquire them at once and immediately afterwards lease; (Company's offer).

(b) Acquire each portion as it becomes purchasable, and let the same on leases all expiring in 1910; or

(c) Acquire and itself work immediately on acquisition the portions of the undertakings as they become purchasable, and could also, at the expiration of the existing lease (say in 1898), itself work the line already purchased of the London Street Company.

“. . . The result of the calculation has been summarised as follows by the Comptroller:—

PROPOSAL.	Total Relief to Rates during the 14 years to 1910.	Debt outstanding, Midsummer, 1910.	Estimated Value of Tramway Property, Midsummer, 1910.
A. North Metropolitan Co.'s offer	£463,907	£917,237	£1,098,000
B. Acquiring under purchase clause and leasing	326,962	928,028	950,000
C. Acquiring under purchase clause and the Council working	281,303	903,724	965,000

(See pages 1091 and 1092, *L.C.C. Minutes*, 1896.)

The Committee, therefore, came to the conclusion that it was best, in the interests of the travelling public, the ratepayer, and the *employés*,—"That an arrangement should now be entered into with the two companies for the purchase of their lines and depôts, and for leasing them to the North Metropolitan Company for a comparatively short term. By that means all disputes and litigation between these two companies and the Council will cease; the lines of the two companies will be amalgamated and placed under one management; new

lines and connections can be made ; and greater facilities afforded to the travelling public.” (See page 1092, *L.C.C. Minutes*, 1896.)

The remarkable point in the Report is that the leasing system promised more profit to the rates than if the Council had purchased and worked the lines itself.

Lease of the Northern Lines, 1896.

By the action of the Moderate Party, with the help of a few Progressives, the purchase and leasing solution of the difficulty was adopted. An agreement was made by which the purchase price for double lines was £10,000 per mile, and £5,000 per mile for single lines. The purchase price was £4,752 per mile, less than the price paid under arbitration by the Progressive Party in 1891 for the $4\frac{3}{4}$ miles already referred to.

Advantages accruing from the Lease of 1895.

Under this lease, the public benefited considerably. The rental paid to the Council was £45,000 a year and an additional $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the increased gross receipts, as compared with the gross receipts in 1895. To safeguard the travelling public and the tramway *employés*, these conditions were embodied in the lease :—

(1) The Company are not to raise the fares on Sundays and Bank Holidays.

(2) The Company are to run workmen's cars between 3 and 8 a.m., wherever the Council may require them to do so, at 1d. fares for the whole distance, with a 2d. return ticket available at any time.

(3) They are to work any new lines that may be made by the Council, and pay the Council 8 per cent. per annum on the cost thereof until Midsummer, 1910. Those terms were better than the 5 per cent. secured by the Progressives under their lease in 1892.

Then with regard to the *employés* :—

(4) The Company are not to increase the hours of labour nor reduce the rates of wages of their *employés*.

(5) They are to pay rates and taxes on the value of the lines.

(6) They are to work the lines by electric or other traction, if and when required by the Council, and on most advantageous terms to the Council.

(7) They are to lay down at their own cost, when required by the Council, a mile of tramway for the purpose of experimenting as to the suitability of any improved system of traction.

(8) They are to set aside a sum equal to £12,500 a year as a fund to be applied for renewals or reconstruction of the lines, which they are to keep in good condition, to the satisfaction of the Council.

Therefore, the lease safeguarded the interests of the ratepayers, the *employés*, and the travelling public. As a result the fares have been reduced, passengers are carried much longer distances ; omnibuses on the routes reduced their fares and gave their passengers the same benefits as those given by the tramways. Other advantages were the avoidance of costly litigation and the immediate construction of new lines.

From the financial point of view the gain to the ratepayers has been satisfactory. The profits to the ratepayers of London so far have been as follows :—

PROFITS FROM THE NORTHERN SYSTEM.

				£	£
1894-5	..	..	..	1,121	
1895-6	..	..	..	2,659	
1896-7	..	..	..		— 2,098
1897-8	..	..	..	69,526	
1898-9	..	..	..		— 14,781
1899-00	..	..	..	66,315	
1900-01	..	.	..	40,152	16,879
1901-2	..	..	..	39,156	
1902-3	..	..	..	37,794	
1903-4	..	..	..	27,657	
1904-5	..	..	..	22,836	
1905-6	..	.	..	24,514	

Profit (after deducting deficits).. £314,851

(*Extracted from the L.C.C. Tramway Accounts.*)

Notwithstanding the excellent results obtained for the ratepayers, the Progressives were not satisfied.

Purchase of the Northern Tramways' Lease Adopted, 1905.

On May 23rd, 1905, the Council resolved, on the proposal of the Progressive Party, to buy up the remainder of the lease, paying £121,000 for it, and £315,000 for the rolling stock, &c. The reasons alleged for the purchase of the lease were :—

(a) That it was not possible to electrify the lines when in the possession of the Company ; and

(b) The desirability of early electrification.

The Finance Committee, in their report, pointed out that the electrification of the Northern lines involved £5,000,000 of capital expenditure, and a total loss during the years 1906 to 1910 of £100,000, being the profits estimated to be derived from the leasing arrangement, if allowed to run its full term (*i.e.*, up to 1910). In fact, during the first ten years after electrification it was estimated there would be an annual loss of £30,000. That is a striking contrast to the profits realised up to the time when the lease was extinguished.

There are two points which are constantly raised at L.C.C. Elections by the Progressives, and with which, consequently, it is necessary to deal. (1) “ That it was possible to purchase the whole Northern system in 1896, and for the L.C.C. to work it.” The fact is that this was not possible. When the Progressives make the statement that the lines were, or could have been, first bought, and then were leased, the answer is that such a statement is absolutely untrue. There was no question of the transaction being split up into two parts : first, purchase ; secondly, leasing. The Council never had it in their power to work the whole system. The purchase was subject to re-lease.

The second Progressive “ story,” dinned into the ears of the electors, is that, owing to the lease, the Northern system could not be electrified. That is a statement which comes under the category of “ terminological inexactitudes.”

Power to Electrify under the Northern Lease.

The clause in the lease regarding electrification is as follows :—

“(κ.) Not to use, except with the consent of the Council in writing, other than animal power upon any of the lines included in the lease ; provided that the Company shall allow the Council, as an experiment, to lay down and equip with mechanical traction a length of not less than three or more than five miles of tramway selected by the Council, the same to be worked by the Company as regards division of profits, under the conditions of the electric traction clause (c), the Company making due allowance for the cost of the one mile which it will lay down and equip, and will, at its own expense, whenever called upon by the Council so to do, lay down and equip a length of about a mile of tramway selected by the Council, for any system of traction which may be chosen by the Council.

“In the event of the Council deciding to adopt electrical or other mechanical power on the whole or part of the lines included in the lease, the Council or the Company, at the option of the former, shall reconstruct in the first instance the permanent way, the Council in either case paying the cost ; and the Council or the Company, at the option of the former, shall provide the necessary fixed machinery, which shall be maintained by the Company to the satisfaction of the Council during the term of the lease ; the equipment shall be provided by the Company to the satisfaction of the Council, and shall be taken over by the Council at a valuation at the end of the term of the lease ; and the rent to be paid by the Company shall be as follows :—

“(a) The Company shall continue to pay the rent to be reserved in the lease on the lines and depôts and other buildings included therein ; subject, however, to deduction of the proportion of the rent allocated to such of the depôts

or other buildings which may have to be disposed of as unsuitable for use in connection with the altered mode of traction or otherwise.

(b) The Company shall pay an additional rent equal to $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum upon the cost of reconstructing the lines, and of the acquisition of any necessary lands and buildings, and also upon the amount of any loss on the sale of depôts or other buildings disposed of as unsuitable, and the cost of adapting, for the purposes of electrical or other mechanical traction, any of the buildings included in the lease; and also a rent equal to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum upon the cost of the necessary fixed machinery, if provided by the Council.

(c) The Company shall also pay to the Council 80 per cent. of the net revenue of the whole of its undertaking inside and outside the county, after deduction of (i) the rents payable to the Council under the Clauses *a* and *b*, (ii) 5 per cent. on (a) the capital of the two companies on 30th June, 1895, less the purchase moneys subsequently paid by the Council to either of the Companies in respect of lines or depôts; (b) the additional capital outlay made by the Company for machinery (if provided by the Company), and equipment, and the loss, if any, on the sale of horse cars.

The Council shall, if it so desire, appoint an auditor, who shall have full power to examine and report upon the transactions of the Company."

(See page 1446, *L.C.C. Minutes*, 1896.)

Progressive Misrepresentation regarding the Lease.

The Progressive Council never tried to enforce that clause and to compel the Company to electrify. During the discussion on May 23rd, 1905, Mr. (now Sir J. W.) Benn, M.P., made the statement that the Northern lines could not be electrified, because the Company would be able to claim very heavy compensation for disturbance. That was a bold statement. Sir Melvill Beachcroft* challenged the truth of Mr. Benn's statement, and quoted the opinion of counsel (Mr., now the Right Hon., R. B. Haldane, K.C., M.P.), which had been sought by the L.C.C., and which was to the effect that the Council could proceed, under the lease, to electrify the Northern system without any claim for compensation for disturbance being maintainable against the Council.

* Cf. "London Municipal Notes," June, 1905, pages 164 and 165.

As a matter of fact, what occurred as regards that electrification clause was this. The Company introduced a Bill in 1897, to give them power to electrify their lines. The local Borough Councils, who have an absolute power of veto as regards tramways, opposed that Bill on the ground that they did not agree to the system of electrification to be installed. Therefore, the Standing Committee of the House of Commons deleted the electrification clause from the Bill. It was not until 1900 that the L.C.C. secured the necessary power for electrifying the Northern lines.

Progressive Delay in regard to Electrification.

And here the question may well be asked, Why did not the L.C.C., in 1899, prepare their plans for electrification in anticipation of the passage of the Bill of 1900? The transformation from horse to electric traction might have been begun, in North London, five years ago, if the Progressive majority had cared to do it. In fact, on February 5th, 1901, Mr. Westacott (a Moderate) secured the passage of a resolution through the Council, urging the Council to proceed at once to electrification. The Highways Committee, however, dallied in their action and made all sorts of excuses for delay. The real truth is that the Progressive majority did not want to electrify under the lease. The Progressive game has throughout been, and is still, to play off the Northern horse trams against the Southern electric lines for election purposes. Further, the Progressive Party were influenced in their action by the very grave difficulty that they could not have afforded to electrify both the Northern and Southern systems at the same time.

However that may be, these facts admit of no contradiction, viz. :—(1) that there was full power to electrify the lines under the lease, and (2) that it was owing to the dilatory policy of the **Progressive** Party that the Northern system remained unelectrified, and is still condemned to horse traction for some years. The Municipal Reform Party have been the true Progressives, while the Progressives have been the stumbling block to improvement.

The Southern Tramway System.

It is necessary next to examine the state of affairs with regard to the Southern system. There are, under the L.C.C., 52 miles of tramways, $30\frac{1}{2}$ of which are electric, and $21\frac{1}{2}$ still worked by means of horse traction. The South London Companies were much more amenable to reason in 1898, and on an offer by the L.C.C., the Companies in South London agreed to sell their systems outright, and they were purchased at various dates, and are, now, both owned and worked by the L.C.C. The advantages that have accrued to the public in South London, are much the same as those gained at an earlier date in North London. The fares have been reduced, and, as Sir J. W. Benn put it in his evidence before the Select Committee on Municipal Trading, 1900, the first step the L.C.C. took with regard to the Southern lines was to bring the conditions of the workers as regards wages and hours of labour up to the wages and hours of labour which prevailed on the Northern system, where the *employés* got the best conditions of labour of any tramway *employés* in the United Kingdom. Since that statement, in South London the L.C.C. have made further concessions. Those concessions have been largely used for political purposes. For example, at the Parliamentary election in South London in 1900, a leaflet was issued on behalf of Mr. (now Sir) J. Williams Benn, Chairman of the Highways Committee, the then Parliamentary candidate for Bermondsey, stating: "Vote for Benn, who fought for, and secured, the ten hours' day, one day's rest in seven, and better wages for the Tramway Men." Notwithstanding the fact that these particular concessions were given **unanimously** by the Council, Sir J. W. Benn, for political purposes, claimed practically the whole of the credit. The incident illustrates the danger of municipal enterprise. It is a sore temptation to Councillors to make use of promises and favours to municipal workmen in order to secure for themselves votes.

Financial Results of the Southern System.

It is next necessary to examine the financial results as regards the Southern system. Two years after purchase, the L.C.C.

decided to electrify the system. To do this, they had practically to "scrap" the old horse lines and rolling-stock, which involved a sacrifice of about three-quarters of a million pounds. It is also to be noted that in the course of reconstruction the estimates for a considerable part of the lines were exceeded by no less than 50 per cent.

The following are the profits which have accrued from the South London Tramways :—

In 1899-1900	..	..	..	£54,847*	profit.
1900-01	..	..	..	14,326	„
1901-02	..	..	..	9,062	„
1902-03	..	..	..	2,251	deficit.
1903-04	..	..	..	8,284	„
1904-05	..	..	..	7,055	profit.
1906-07	..	..	..	2,319	„

or **a total profit, deducting deficits, of £87,609.**

(*Extracted from the L.C.C. Tramway Accounts.*)

This alleged profit compares with £258,424 profit on the Northern system during the same period. Nearly the whole of the profits to the rates (*viz.*, £293,000), *so freely advertised by Progressives*, have come from the **Northern** lines. Of course, the losses on the South may, in part, be attributed to reconstruction, but not wholly so. They are mainly due to the cost of electrification largely exceeding the estimates, and to blunders due to the Progressives in the course of reconstruction.

Tramway Profits in relief of Rates.

The profits applied to relief of the rates by the L.C.C. from tramway balances, are as follows :—

1897-98	..	..	..	..	£49,000
1898-99	..	..	..	..	—
1899-1900	..	..	..	..	110,592
1900-01	..	..	..	..	69,000
1901-02	..	..	..	..	45,000
1902-03	..	..	..	..	20,000
1903-04	..	..	..	..	nil.
1904-05	..	..	..	..	nil.
1905-06	..	..	..	..	nil.
1906-07	..	..	..	..	nil.

* Fifteen months' working.

The following table gives the total results of the Northern and Southern systems :—

TABLE SHOWING FINANCIAL RESULTS OF THE LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL TRAMWAYS FROM APRIL 1ST, 1894, TO MARCH 31ST, 1906.

(Compiled from the L.C.C. Tramway Accounts.)

Year.	Balance Brought Forward.	Year's Results.				Total including Balances.	Carried Balance to Relief For-	
		Surplus (+), or Deficiency (—).					ward.	
		South.	North.	General.	Total.			
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1894-5 ..	—	—	+ 1,121	—	+ 1,121	1,121	—	1,121
1895-6 ..	1,121	—	+ 2,659	—	+ 2,659	3,780	—	3,780
1896-7 ..	3,780	—	— 2,098	—	— 2,098	1,682	—	1,682
1897-8 ..	1,682	—	+ 69,526	—	+ 69,526	71,208	49,000	22,208
1898-9 ..	22,208	5,592*	—14,781	—	— 9,189	13,019	—	13,019
1899-00 ..	13,019	+ 54,847†	+ 66,315	— 1,915	+ 119,247	132,266	110,592	21,674
1900-1 ..	21,674	+ 14,326	+ 40,152	— 6,936	+ 47,542	69,216	69,000	216
1901-2 ..	216	+ 9,062	+ 39,156	— 3,252	+ 44,966	45,182	45,000	182
1902-3 ..	182	— 2,251	+ 37,794	— 5,856	+ 29,687	29,869	20,000	9,869
1903-4 ..	9,869	— 8,283	+ 27,657	—10,678	+ 8,696	18,565	—	18,565
1904-5 ..	18,565	+ 7,055	+ 22,836	—18,467	+ 11,424	29,989	—	29,989
1905-6 ..	29,989	+ 2,319	+ 24,514	—25,573	+ 1,261	31,249	—	31,249

* Proportion of profits of Company's working from April 10th, 1897, to December 31st, 1898.

† Includes three months to March 31st, 1899.

In the light of the actual financial results, it is interesting to recall the Progressive prophecies of the “ princely ” profits in relief of the rates, which were to be obtained from the Southern lines.

Unfulfilled Progressive Promises.

A leaflet was published in January, 1901, by “ the Progressive Election Committee,” during the L.C.C. election of that year, entitled “ Progressive *versus* Moderate Tramways.” The leaflet is a cunning compilation of half-lies and fulsome promises. Among the various remarkable statements in it, was this :—

“ . . . The tramway system is **now earning £100,000 per annum for the ratepayers.** Under Progressive management, and electric traction, this sum may, in a few years, be increased tenfold. . . . It is estimated that, at no distant date, from **one to two millions per annum** may be secured from the electrified Progressive tramways of the Metropolis.”

That prophecy was made six years ago. In this connection it is worth noting that in *The Daily Chronicle* of February 21st, 1901, an article appeared by Mr. J. W. Benn on “ What the

L.C.C. has done." "Cheap and efficient Tramways for Londoners," and the "prophecies" of profits and other "statements" in that article correspond closely with those in the Progressive leaflet.

That leaflet undoubtedly secured considerable support to the Progressive Party from the electors. The entrancing vision of two millions of profits per annum from "Progressive" tramways was a powerful argument. These, according to the same leaflet, were to be used to achieve wonderful results in regard to remedying overcrowding, &c. If the "prophecy" had been realised, it would have practically reduced the L.C.C. rate by 70 per cent., or by considerably more than one-half.

Another Progressive promise in this same leaflet, which still remains unfulfilled, is as follows:—

"... If the Progressives are returned, **a maximum charge of a penny any distance**, will certainly be the next step in the Council's tramway policy, and that without interfering in any way with the system of halfpenny fares or the profits to the ratepayer."

That is a promise made six years ago. It has never as yet been carried out.

The duty which lies before the Municipal Reform Party in the approaching election, is to contrast "Progressive" predictions of profits with actual results; to point out to the ratepayers of London that they have in the past accorded support to the Progressive Party on what events have now proved to be false statements; and to ask the electors whether they can honestly continue to vote for a Party which has so grossly deceived them in the past.

L.C.C. Tramway Accounts.

While it is important to impress on all the failure of Progressive promises, it is still more necessary to direct attention to the grave controversy which is raging as to whether the L.C.C. tramway accounts do include all the expenditure on account of tramway work undertaken by the Council. The sum of £87,609, representing the total profits from the Southern lines is, of course, taken from the official accounts. There is,

however, no doubt but that, like other municipal undertakings, the L.C.C. tramways are not charged with all the expenditure they ought, and would have, to bear, if run entirely as a separate undertaking.

The items to which reference is made more particularly in this connection, are :—

1. The cost of street widenings for tramway purposes.
2. The failure to provide an adequate annual sum for depreciation.
3. The failure to charge the tramways with a sufficient sum on account of the services of other Departments.

Tramway Street Widenings.*

First, as to the question of street widenings for tramway purposes. As a rule, when a private company wishes to construct tramways in any area, the local authority makes the company pay the whole cost of any street widening necessitated by the introduction of the tramways. The local authority has the whip-hand, as they can veto any proposal of a tramway company. Local authorities not only make private companies pay the whole cost of street improvements, but very often impose upon them other onerous conditions.

Sir J. Clifton Robinson, the Managing Director of the London United Tramways Company, in giving evidence before the Traffic Commission, made the following statement concerning the sums his company had had to pay in respect of street improvements, &c., in Greater London :—

[*c.f.* Answer 24,853, Cd. 2751 of 1905.]

“The street improvements represented an outlay of £745,500, apart from the capitalisation of numerous wayleaves, which I also deal with, which amounted to a further £241,000. That means an enormous capital value in the cost, not only of constructing a tramway, but in meeting these enormous demands for improvements and the capitalisation of the wayleaves.”

* NOTE.—For further information on this subject; *c.f.* “The Tramway Scandal”—“How the Progressives reckon Profits”; published by the London Municipal Society.

The Middlesex County Council and the cost of Street Widenings.

Every penny of every improvement made under every Order by the Middlesex County Council, in connection with the widening of a street up to 50 feet in width, is debited against the Tramway Accounts by the Middlesex County Council.

The L.C.C. and Street Widenings.

What is the method adopted by the L.C.C.? Generally, when a scheme for the widening of a street for tramway purposes is recommended by the Highways or Improvement Committees, they usually—not always—split the cost into three parts—one-third is to be paid by the local Borough Council, one-third is charged to the tramways account, and one-third to the L.C.C. Improvements Fund.

At the debate in the Council on July 3rd, 1906, Mr. McKinnon Wood, M.P., himself admitted that “This system of charging one-third to improvements is a rule of thumb system, and proceeds upon no principle.”

Mr. Cockerton, the Local Government Board Auditor, in his report dated April 4th, 1906, stated :—

“The Council does not appear to have had before it any data when fixing these proportions, which seem to be of a somewhat arbitrary character.”

Giving evidence before the Traffic Commission, Mr. W. H. Dickinson, L.C.C., said that he spoke on behalf of the London County Council, and went on to use these words (Answer 2199, Cd. 2751 of 1905) :—

“We have laid down a rule as far as possible, and we do not wish to depart from it, in justice to all parts of London—that is, that one-third of the cost is paid by the Council, one-third by the Tramways Department, and one-third by the Local Authority.”

Mr. Gomme, the Clerk of the London County Council, in giving evidence before the same Commission, answered Question 4164 : “What are the arrangements made about cost

where streets have to be widened for the making of tramways ? ” as follows :—

“ One-third of the cost is contributed by the Council, one-third by the Local Authority, and the remaining third is charged to the tramways account.”

As a matter of fact not even one-third has been so charged.

It is urged, with some force, that where in a mediæval town the streets are very narrow, and street widenings would be advantageous, not only to the tram lines but to the general traffic, then there is a justification for charging part of the cost of the street widening to the rates. But where, as in London, most of the street widenings are in connection with comparatively modern streets, which, but for the tramways, would never have been widened, and which are sufficient for general traffic, then the tramway undertaking ought to bear the whole cost.

It is difficult to find out how much has been or will be spent on street widenings, which ought to be charged to the tramways account, but which has been or will be charged to the London ratepayers.

To obtain this information, Captain G. S. Swinton (Moderate), on January 23rd, 1906, secured the passage of a resolution by the L.C.C., “ That it be an instruction to the Finance Committee to bring up at the earliest possible moment a return showing :—

“(1) The net cost (both estimated and actual where the work has been completed, and estimated only where it has not been completed) of every street widening carried out or authorised by the Council along the route of any tramway existing or sanctioned by the Council ;

“(2) The net cost, in each separate case, of re-paving and other works, or arrangements consequential to the construction of the tramway ; and

“(3) The portion, in each separate case, of the cost under (1) and under (2) which has been, or is proposed to be, charged to (a) the local authority, (b) the Council’s improvement account, (c) the Council tramways account ;

“(4) The amount which has been charged year by year against the tramways account in respect of the services of each branch of the Council’s central staff.”—(*L.C.C. Minutes*, 1906, p. 90.)

Insufficient Charges for Street Widenings.

Here, for example, is one instance of a street widening for tramway purposes which proves beyond dispute that the L.C.C. tramways accounts are false. St. John Street, Clerkenwell, widening was specifically stated to be for “tramway purposes.” The Council were told by the Improvements Committee that half the cost of the property, and the whole cost of the paving, &c., would be charged against the tramways account. On that information, the Council sanctioned the scheme. An Act was passed in 1900 authorising the Council to carry out the widening. What happened? In October, 1901, according to the annual report of the Improvements Committee, the Council resolved “to relieve the tramways account for the present from the liability to pay half the cost of the acquisition of property and the whole cost of paving, &c. But the liability is to be revived if the proposed tramway is a source of profit.” Imagine any private undertaking being conducted on such lines? Picture, for example, a private tramway company undertaking to widen a street at their own cost, and then saying, “Oh, we will relieve the tramway from its liability, which shall be borne by the ratepayers. If the tramway is profitable, we will pay for it; if not, we will charge it to the rates.” Having got the scheme sanctioned on the distinct statement that half the cost is to be charged to the tramways account, has the L.C.C. the legal right to vary the incidence of the cost? It is interesting to note that the Finance Committee of the L.C.C. do not expect a profit on the Northern lines for some years. So the prospect of the liability being re-imposed on the tramways is very remote. The broad fact to be observed is that here there is **a barefaced manipulation** of the accounts. It is this sort of “book-keeping,” which makes the public rightly demand a professional audit of L.C.C. accounts.

Report of the Local Government Board Auditor.

The Report of the Local Government Board Auditor on the L.C.C. Accounts for the year ending March 31st, 1905, dated April 4th, 1906, states that "Up to March 31st, 1905, sums amounting in the aggregate to £89,305 have been charged to the tramways account in respect of expenditure on street widenings in connection with tramways. I find that up to that date the Council had decided in 23 cases of street improvements that the tramways account should bear a proportion of the cost, and in one case the whole of the cost. The total sum estimated to be chargeable to the tramways account in these cases is £377,260. The proportions vary, but are for the most part one-third of the net cost of the improvement. The Council does not appear to have had before it any data when fixing these proportions, which seem to be of a somewhat arbitrary character. I understand that several Committees of the Council have under their consideration the matter of the incidence of the cost of street widenings in connection with tramway schemes, and I propose, therefore, to defer any remarks I may have to make on the method in which the expenditure is divided between the improvements and tramways accounts."—(*L.C.C. Agenda No. 42, p. 4, July 24, 1906. Statements accompanying Committee's Reports.*)

Therefore, from the Auditor's Report, it seems probable that a million of money has been charged to the ratepayers which ought to have been charged to the capital expenditure account of the tramways. Those are points which, in discussing the manipulation of accounts by the Progressive Party, ought to be put clearly before the public. There is no class of the community that does not wish its municipal finance to be honestly conducted. The ratepayers of London, being shareholders, willing or unwilling, in these municipal tramways, have a right to a full and honest statement of accounts. It is for the Municipal Reform Party to demand true financial statements.

Return as to Charges for Street Improvements, 1906.

This return in regard to Street Improvements, dated October 10th, 1906, though asked for by Captain Swinton on January 23rd, 1906, was not, in fact, issued until October 16th, 1906, *i.e.*, after a lapse of nearly nine months.

The actual return does not, in fact, adhere to the terms of the original resolution, and it is impossible, within the scope of the present book, to enter into an examination of the various items dealt with in that return.

The return has been ably dealt with by Captain Swinton in his speech in the Council on October 16th, 1906, republished by the Society as a pamphlet—"The Tramway Scandal—How the Progressives reckon Profits."

The return amply justifies Captain Swinton's statement on that occasion:—"I say deliberately, after careful study, that London is owed at least half a million."

Lord Welby, in the House of Lords, on July 9th, 1906, on the second reading of the L.C.C. (Money) Bill, further stated:—"With regard to the next point—the division of the cost of widening streets between the tramways undertaking and the improvements account—I may say that this matter has received and is receiving the attention of the Council. **The charging of one-third in the manner in which it has been carried out up to the present has not been thought a just or right division,** and the Finance Committee are now engaged with the other committees concerned in endeavouring to lay down principles by which the partition will be made in a more satisfactory manner."

Tramway Depreciation Charges.

The next point to be considered is the question of depreciation. In some years, nothing whatever has been allowed for depreciation on the South London lines. The following table, extracted from the L.C.C. Tramways Accounts, shows the amount of the debt outstanding at the end of each year in

respect of the Southern Tramways, and the sum set aside each year for renewals :—

	Debt outstanding at the end of year.*	Depreciation Fund.
1899-1900 ..	£864,548	.. £7,308
1900-1 ..	854,733	.. 7,000
1901-2 ..	828,910	.. 9,000
1902-3 ..	1,411,420	.. 11,000
1903-4 ..	1,983,514	.. nothing
1904-5 ..	2,415,329	.. 35,000
1905-6 ..	2,768,636	.. 35,000
Total ..	<u>£2,768,636</u>	.. <u>£104,308</u>

The L.C.C. annual estimates for 1906-7 are prefaced by a memorandum, signed by Lord Welby (Chairman of the Finance Committee) and by Mr. Haward (Comptroller of the Council). It is stated on page 7 of those estimates that “the sum to be set aside for future renewals is calculated at 1d. per car mile on the car mileage estimated to be run. For the three years during which cars have already been worked by electric traction the surplus on working has not been sufficient to enable the full produce of 1d. per car mile to be set aside for future renewals, and about £45,000 is still required to bring the provision up to this standard.”

The Finance Committee state that they “are in communication with the Highways Committee as to the sufficiency of the renewals fund, with a view to the submission to the Council at an early date of a full report on the subject.” Mr. Haward (Comptroller of the L.C.C.) stated in 1906, before the Earl of Camperdown’s Committee in the House of Lords, in answer to a question why the L.C.C. had not allowed a larger sum for depreciation, that the tramways could not afford to do so.

Speaking in the Council on October 23rd, 1906, Mr. A. F. Buxton (Moderate) dealt with this question of Depreciation Charges, and analysed generally the alleged profits on the tramways.

In his speech, Mr. Buxton said :—

“I should like to touch specially on this much-discussed Renewals Reserve Fund. Mr. McKinnon Wood seems to think

[* Page 43, L.C.C. Tramway Accounts to March 31st 1906, No. 968.]

that it is hardly necessary in the early days of a concern to have the renewals account kept up to its full limits. Apart from one's own individual opinion, he does not agree with what has fallen from Lord Welby, and what is reported by the Comptroller of the Council. Lord Welby has shown to us that the £35,000 which was charged in favour of Renewals Fund last year was considerably less even than a penny a mile run; about £15,000 short.

"One penny a mile would represent over £50,000, and the actual amount was £35,000, so that there is a material difference.

"Apart from that, we have the Comptroller's opinion showing that the amount credited to the Renewals Fund for the last few years is short by £44,700. This is a report dated last March, so that there is no doubt that this much-vaunted £3,000 which Sir John Benn has alluded to is nothing to make much about. It is distinctly short by at least £44,700. There is, here, a very serious omission in our accounts.

"... In the accounts this year, there is a revenue of £2,319 and £25,256, and on the other side is a charge on the revenue account of £25,573, and the Aldwych line £742, making shortly a net profit of £1,260. I do not want to make too much of a small figure. But if to that we charge the renewals account, as it should be charged, with over 1d. a mile, then we get a different story. Supposing it was brought out at over £50,000, this net profit would be turned into a net loss of nearly £14,000 to begin with.* But £25,256 of profit has again to be deducted, because we are told that one of the wickednesses of this Council is the lease of the Northern Tramways. The Northern Trams brought in last year a net profit of £25,256, so that if we deduct an amount, which apparently we ought never to have received, from what we have been told by the other party, there would have been a loss of £39,256, instead of a profit of £1,260. This very serious loss represents as a fact what Sir John Benn has spoken of as a gold mine.

* NOTE.—This figure is arrived at by deducting from the £50,000, which should have been charged for Renewals, the sum of £35,000, which is the amount *actually so charged* (i.e., £15,000). This debit amount of £15,000 has to be deducted from the above credit of £1,260, giving a net loss of £13,740.

“ . . . Sir Edwin Cornwall, when we were discussing the Estimates last year, said that a syndicate would give us twenty or fifty millions for our tramway system. It struck me as a very large margin at the time. He did not tell us how he arrived at the figures. The truth is, both Sir John Benn and Sir Edwin Cornwall have been caught entirely by the glamour of big figures, and having lost their way, they now do not know where they are. The statements which are made, are too much like the terms of a very hopeful prospectus, which in most well-ordered households goes straight into the waste-paper basket.”

Comparison of Glasgow and London Depreciation Allowances.

It is interesting to compare the allowance for depreciation made by the L.C.C., with that made by the Glasgow Corporation Tramways :—

GLASGOW.

Year ending May 31st.	Capital Expenditure.	Car Mileage ran.	Depreciation and Special Depreciation (not including General Reserve Fund).	Average per Car Mile.
1903	£2,129,512	14,008,750	£192,555	2·44d.
1904	2,107,880	16,291,082	200,447	3·01d.
1905	2,763,382	17,943,595	221,792	2·96d.
1906		18,886,910	189,886	2·41d.

LONDON.

Year ending March 31st.	Capital Expenditure.	Car Mileage ran. (a) Electric. (b) Horse.	Depreciation. Renewals Reserve Fund.	Average per Car Mile.
1903	£1,533,380	(b) 10,110,940	£11,000	0·26d.
1904		(a) 4,469,576 (b) 7,066,958	Nil.	
1905	2,623,692	(a) 10,931,396 (b) 3,150,001	35,000	0·76d.
1906		(a) 12,164,292 (b)	35,000	

The Necessity for Effective Depreciation Funds.

In *The Contemporary Review* for November, 1906, Mr. J. Holt Schooling, the well-known statistician, explains why, in municipal trading, a proper allowance for depreciation is necessary.

In this letter, Mr. Schooling says :—

“ . . . Why ought municipalities that engage in what are called ‘ Reproductive Undertakings ’ to create a depreciation fund, in addition to spending money yearly upon such repairs and renewals of plant, machinery, &c., as are absolutely necessary ? That is the question before me.

“ Many sincere persons, in addition to Mr. Morgan-Browne, say, in effect, that no such depreciation fund is necessary, because the whole debt upon these undertakings will be paid off during the working lifetime of this or that undertaking.

“ That, briefly, is the reply given to my question by the supporters of our local spending authorities.

“ But the municipalities of Glasgow and of a few other towns do make an adequate depreciation fund.

“ I am quite aware that, as a matter of theoretical municipal finance, such debt is supposed to be paid off during the working lifetime of this or that undertaking. And if municipal financial practice coincided with municipal financial theory, Mr. Morgan-Browne and his municipal friends would be correct.

“ In the report of the Select Committee on ‘ Repayment of Loans by Local Authorities,’ Blue Book 239 of 1902, there is the evidence of Mr. Noel T. Kershaw, Assistant Secretary of the Local Government Board. He states : ‘ Cases are frequently occurring in which the works cease to be of use before they are worn out ’ (page 2). And Mr. Kershaw handed in a list of 29 such cases that came to his notice during 30 consecutive days at the Local Government Board. This list is printed on pages 392 and 393 of the Blue Book. In all such cases of failure of works the failure took place before the period of debt-repayment had expired.

“ That is my point. I state that municipal financial theory and municipal financial practice do not coincide, and that as a rule the debt will not be paid off during the working lifetime of this or that undertaking. It happens that during the last

26 years I have acquired the habit of forming opinions upon the matters of finance that have been sent for my examination, after investigation of the actual data, in place of taking for granted that financial theory and financial practice coincide. And during the long course of this work I have had actually to compute sinking funds, and I have had to advise my clients as to the proper amount to be set aside in many such affairs as miners' relief funds, schemes for workmen contracting out of the Workmen's Compensation Act, &c. . . .

"Let me take for an example **the tramways of the London County Council**. In theory, it is supposed that the debt incurred upon these tramways will be paid off during the working lifetime of the tramways, and no adequate depreciation fund is being created. But actual investigation of the tramway account throughout the whole period of its existence shows me that, at the present rate of debt redemption, the tramway debt will not be discharged until after 40 years.

"I presume that even Mr. Morgan-Browne would not claim that the working lifetime of a tramway is anything like so long as 40 years.

"Owing to the large divergence between municipal financial theory and municipal financial practice, we begin to see that the formation of a depreciation fund is necessary.

"When the tramways get older, much larger amounts than are at present necessary will have to be spent yearly upon repairs, and especially upon renewals. And when more years have passed, a wholesale renewal of tramway plant will be necessary, long before the debt is paid off.

"In the absence of an adequate depreciation fund, all this heavy future cost for repairs and renewals will eat up the tramway receipts (already drawn upon for debt charges, and for absolutely necessary repairs and renewals), and will entail a charge upon the rates for these heavy repairs and renewals. **By sound finance, a depreciation fund ought to be formed in the first year of a tramway's life.** During the earlier years the amount put into the depreciation fund would be in excess of the amount taken out of the depreciation fund to pay for such small repairs as might be necessary. During the later years the amount put yearly into the depreciation fund would be inadequate to pay each year's cost of repairs and renewals. But this would not matter, because the accumulations of the depreciation fund would, in the later years, be available to pay the then heavy cost of repairs and renewals. **This sound principle of finance is that used**

to compute the yearly premiums to be paid by a man who assures his life, or who assures for sickness pay. The yearly premium does not vary during the same man's lifetime. In the earlier years, this man pays each year more than is entailed by the cost each year of the risk against which he assures. But in the later years the man pays less per year as premium than is entailed by the yearly cost of the risk. And the premium accumulations of past years make up the deficiencies.

"That is an exact explanation based upon sound finance of why a depreciation fund is necessary. . . ."

Repayment of Capital Expenditure.

Another point which requires examination in connection with L.C.C. tramways is that of repayment of capital expenditure. The Progressive Party, like all municipal traders, talk about paying off capital expenditure on tramways, and giving the ratepayers of London, "a glorious heritage" free of debt. But long before the L.C.C. has paid off its debt, the tramways will be obsolete. In the case of many municipal undertakings the rate of repayment of capital expenditure since their establishment has been so small that, unless the rate is accelerated, the undertakings will not be free from debt for hundreds of years. Of course, the fact is that capital expenditure on an undertaking never ceases. It is necessary continually to "scrap" obsolete machinery, &c., long before the capital expenditure on it has been repaid. Greenwich generating station for the L.C.C. tramways, on which half a million of money has been spent, is to a large extent obsolete, though but recently completed. An electrical expert recently stated that the L.C.C. have already spent half a million, and propose to spend another half a million of money on that generating station. This gentleman, a leading engineer, is prepared to erect a generating station of equal capacity for a quarter of the sum to be expended by the L.C.C.

Insufficiency of Establishment Charges.

As to the third item—the establishment charges. It is admitted by the L.C.C., not only with regard to their tram-

ways, but in the case of other municipal undertakings, that enough has not been charged for the services of the central staff. Though they have a tramways department, that department has the advantage of the advice and work of the Council's principal officers—the Clerk of the Council, Valuer, Architect, Engineer, and the whole of their respective staffs. Therefore there ought to be some method of ascertaining what is the value of those services, and a sum ought to be charged against the tramways account in respect thereof. A report on this subject was presented by the Finance Committee to the Council on July 3rd, 1906.* That report was an absolute confession that in the past sufficient had not been charged to the tramways, and other undertakings, for establishment services, and that in the future they would try and arrive at some sufficient standard of charge to be made against the different undertakings.

In this report, the Finance Committee (*inter alia*) stated :—

“We think, however, that the time has arrived for the Council to make regulations providing for a more complete apportionment of the charges in question to the various accounts set out in the above list. . . .”

The same report further added :—

“It would be inconvenient to make these regulations retrospective, except in so far as they are already in force, and we propose, therefore, that they shall be brought fully into operation on 1st April, 1907.”

An L.C.C. Return, dated October 10th, 1906, shows (*inter alia*) the amounts charged each year against the tramways accounts in respect of the services of each branch of the Council's central staff, other than the Tramways Department.

* See as to this, “London Municipal Notes,” July, 1906, pages 39 to 49.

NOTE.—*The salaries and wages of officials in the Tramways Department are charged direct to the Tramways Account.*

Year.	Solicitor's Department.		Comptroller's Department.		Engineer's Department.		Architect's Department.		Valuer's Department.		Department of the Clerk of the Council.		Statistical Department.		Total.		
	Revenue account.	Capital account.	Revenue account.	Capital account.	Revenue account.	Capital account.	Revenue account.	Capital account.	Revenue account.	Capital account.	Revenue account.	Capital account.	Revenue account.	Capital account.	Revenue account.	Capital account.	
1899 .. (3 months)	£ 100	£ —	£ 75	£ —	£ 9	£ —	£ —	£ —	£ 172	£ —	£ —	£ —	£ —	£ —	£ 175	£ 181	
1899—1900	400	—	300	—	—	—	—	—	41	—	—	—	—	—	700	41	
1900—1901	400	—	300	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	700	—	
1901—1902	400	—	300	—	—	—	—	—	18	—	—	—	—	—	700	18	
1902—1903	500	—	300	—	753	—	4,661	—	38	—	—	—	—	—	800	5,452	
1903—1904	500	—	345	—	5,196	—	6,535	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	845	11,731	
1904—1905	650	—	600	—	5,933	—	4,765	—	59	—	—	—	—	—	1,250	10,757	
1905—1906	1,000	—	740	—	225	—	4,485	—	41	325	500 (a)	—	200	—	2,990	12,286	
	3,950	—	2,960	—	225	19,651	20,446	—	369	325	500	—	200	—	8,160	40,466	
																£48,626	

(a) Proportion of the salaries of the Parliamentary Branch of the Department of the Clerk of the Council.

For the year 1905-6, the L.C.C. Central Staff and Offices, without education, cost £205,527. Seven years ago, when the L.C.C. first took over the tramways, it was £136,718. For the year, 1902-3, the cost was £174,671. In that year the Clerk of the Council's Department cost £23,264. The tramways paid none of that, nor did they pay one penny until July, 1906, when, after this return was in print, the palpable absurdity of such an arrangement caused £500 to be charged against them. It is impossible to deny that the Clerk's Department must have much to do with the tramways, especially when we consider that it includes the Parliamentary branch which looks after the Council's numerous tramway Bills.

In that year, 1902-3, the Solicitor's Department cost £15,513; the tramways subscribed £500. The Comptroller's Department cost £16,506; the tramways were charged £300. And so on. In these seven years, while the Central Office has cost London upwards of £1,200,000, the tramways have paid only £8,160 towards this on revenue account.

It is manifest, therefore, that the L.C.C. Tramway Accounts have been subsidised to a very large extent in respect of establishment charges; and until the proper proportion of these establishment charges has been debited against the tramway accounts, it is childish to describe them as "Revenue Producing Undertakings," or to allege that they impose no charge upon the ratepayers.

L.C.C. Tramway Fares.

One of the favourite Progressive allegations is to the effect that the fares granted on their tramways far eclipse those obtainable from companies, or by other means of locomotion.

The whole subject came up for debate at the Council on May 29th, 1906, on a proposal of the Highways Committee that workmen's fares on certain new lines should be at a higher rate than in the past.

The debate led to several important statements, and notably to a speech by Mr. G. Dew, Progressive Councillor for South

Islington, who moved an amendment to the effect that the workmen's fares on these new lines should be the same as on the existing tramways.

In support of his amendment, Mr. Dew said :—

“My reason for moving this amendment is that I see no reason why we should depart from the policy which this Council has consistently laid down, not only for itself, but a policy which it has also pursued in dealing with London Railway Companies and others who carry passengers.

“... I want this Council to be consistent. I want to know what position we shall be in, in the future, when we are facing these various companies constructing railways, new railways in London, when we go before them to try to get what we term our Model Workmen's Fares Clause in their Bills. What we are not prepared to do ourselves, we certainly have no justification in point of argument to ask other people to do.

“... I would like to remind the Council of the evidence we recently gave through our Parliamentary Committee before a Select Committee of the House of Commons, which specially sat to consider this question of workmen's fares. We then laid down what we considered to be our Model Clause. We said that railway companies, tube railways, and the general railway companies in all new departures, or in new legislation brought in by the Government, should be placed under the obligation to grant workmen's fares at the following scale : 10 miles, single journey, for 1d. ; return journey of 20 miles, 2d. ; 15 miles were laid down under the scale at 3d. the return ; and 20 miles, return journey, at 4d. This evidence we gave deliberately before a Committee of the House of Commons. ... The same kind of evidence we put before every railway committee, and tried to get put in every railway Bill passed through Parliament for several years past.

“Captain Hemphill will understand that in continuing to give these cheap fares he will only be doing what many private railway companies, and even tramway companies, are already doing. On the Great Eastern Railway, a railway which cost a great deal of money to construct, you can travel $10\frac{3}{4}$ miles into London and $10\frac{3}{4}$ miles back, making $21\frac{1}{2}$ miles, return journey, for a charge of 2d. a day. The North London Railway, by obligation placed upon them, carry passengers a distance of $8\frac{1}{4}$ miles to and fro, $16\frac{1}{2}$ miles per day, for 2d. the return journey. The Metropolitan Railway carry people $7\frac{3}{4}$ miles, single distance, or double that distance, at 2d. return. The London, Chatham, and Dover Railway, carry people right from Victoria Station to Snow Hill, a distance of $7\frac{1}{4}$ miles, $14\frac{1}{2}$ miles, at 2d. a day ; a railway running through the very

district in which Captain Hemphill has his tramways running in competition; the District Railway, $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles, the return journey 2d. a day.

“I wish now to refer to some tramways that run very near London, and compare them with the Council’s tramways. These tramways, to which I refer, run inside the County of London. What we want Captain Hemphill to do in regard to this extension of tramways is **nothing more than the London United Tramways are already doing.** I do not know whether he is aware that you can travel on the London United Tramways from Hampton Court to Richmond, a distance of about 7 miles, for 1d. single, and 2d. return journey; that is the workmen’s fare on that route. From Southall to Shepherd’s Bush, which is 7 miles, 14 miles return, is 2d. the return journey. Under my amendment we put no greater hardship upon the Chairman of the Highways Committee than that which is already granted by tramways serving the other districts of London. You can travel from Hounslow to Hammersmith, a distance of $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles into London and $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles back, for 2d. the return journey. You can go from Twickenham to Shepherd’s Bush, a distance of $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles, again for 2d. the return journey. The London United Tramways take people from Hounslow to Shepherd’s Bush, a distance of 8 miles, or 16 miles the return journey, for 2d. a day. . . .”

On the same occasion, Mr. D. S. Waterlow, M.P. (Progressive), said:—“ . . . the existing workmen’s fares for the six or seven miles do not pay the working expenses.” . . . “I say that our whole Progressive policy is bound up with making these trams pay their way.”

Mr. A. J. Shephard (Progressive) also stated:—“We are told on the authority of the Committee that they are carrying, even at the 12 miles, six miles each way, each passenger at a dead loss.”

Whilst Captain the Hon. Fitzroy Hemphill (Chairman of the Highways Committee) (Progressive), in the course of the same debate, said:—“At the present moment the workmen’s cars are earning $6\frac{3}{4}$ d. per car mile, the cost of running them is $7\frac{3}{4}$ d. per car mile, therefore there is a loss of 1d. per car mile.”

It would appear, therefore, from the above that the L.C.C. at present are running these workmen’s trams at a considerable loss, and notwithstanding are unable to offer any better terms than many private tramway and other companies.

Private Companies and Reduced Fares.

Some striking examples are forthcoming at the present time of the reductions in fares, and other advantages, which are now being granted in London by private companies in consequence of increased competition, due to the opening of new tube railways, &c., and the more varied means of locomotion which now exist in most parts of Greater London.

For example, *The Daily Mail* of December 7th, 1906, says :—

“ On and after December 15th, combined tickets for tramway and railway travel may be obtained from conductors, or at the booking offices of—

The London United Electric Tramways,
The Brompton, Piccadilly and King's Cross Railway,
The District Railway.

“ An agreement which made the new scheme possible was signed this week by the several companies concerned, and its first operation will coincide with the opening of the new ‘ tube ’ railway running from Finsbury Park in the north, by way of King's Cross, Holborn, and Piccadilly, to Hammersmith, in the west.

“ It will be noted that neither the Central London ‘ tube ’ nor the London County Council tramways are included in the reform. The Central London Company have refused to enter into any combination with the tramways, and the County Council have not assisted in bringing about this great convenience to the London public.

“ Sir Clifton Robinson explained to a *Daily Mail* representative on December 6th, how the change has been brought about. He stated that he had suggested it when, in 1902, the great fight between the tramways and the railways took place before Lord Windsor's joint committee.

“ ‘ I had resolved to bring about the system of interchange of traffic by through tickets as soon as a fitting opportunity offered itself. I thought that the time had come with the opening of the new ‘ tube ’ from Hammersmith to Finsbury Park. It involved a great deal of trouble, the companies not seeing how they could get over the difficulties caused by their numerous stations, enormous traffic, and sectional fares. After three months' hard work given to the proper adjustment and elaboration of the scheme I was able to brush away all the existing difficulties and to put forward a new idea altogether, free from complications, simplicity itself, and absolutely devoid of any additional labour on passengers or officials of the railway or conductors.’ ”

“ His secret lay in the new tickets. . . .

“ There are three sets of tickets, one each for the Hampton Court, the Hounslow, and the Uxbridge routes. Each is in duplicate, but one side is for the conductor to retain and has ‘Not available’ printed across it and folds behind the half we show.

“ The method of using is simple. A passenger entering the car, say at Hounslow Heath, tells the conductor he wishes to go to Finsbury Park on the new ‘tube,’ or to St. Mary’s, Whitechapel, on the District. The conductor punches a hole through the folded ticket at the Hounslow Heath section, and another at the bottom, either on the left for Finsbury Park, or on the right for Whitechapel. He then collects fourpence for the tram fare, and either fourpence or threepence for the railway fare making either eightpence for Finsbury Park or sevenpence for Whitechapel. The passenger is then given his half of the ticket and the transaction is over so far as he is concerned. Meanwhile, the conductor retains his portion, which has been punched simultaneously in the same places. The passenger then goes to his destination without further trouble about tickets, changing to the railway either at Hammersmith or Hounslow Town. Correspondingly on the railway he would at Finsbury Park on asking for a combined ticket for Hounslow Heath receive a railway ticket on paying eightpence, which he would exchange for a tramway ticket on taking his seat in the car.

“ The Uxbridge passenger may with one ticket travel by tramway and railway by this system twenty miles for ninepence to Finsbury Park.

“ A reduction of fares will not be the least of the advantages of the interchange system. The fare between Hampton Court and Hammersmith is reduced one penny, and for through traffic on the Piccadilly and Brompton line the zone system is introduced, so that the fares are :—

Hammersmith to Earl’s Court	..	..	1d.
Hammersmith to Holborn	..	..	2d.
Hammersmith to King’s Cross	..	..	3d.
Hammersmith to Finsbury Park	..	..	4d.

“ Similarly on the District :—

Hammersmith to Earl’s Court	..	..	1d.
Hammersmith to Temple	..	..	2d.
Hammersmith to Whitechapel	..	..	3d.

“ The scheme is made possible by Sir Clifton Robinson grouping together fares of the same value.”

The Progressives and the treatment of the Tramway Employees.

Justice, the weekly organ of the Social Democrats, under date July 28th, 1906, published a long article dealing with this subject.

"How should a municipality pay and treat its men?" first asks the writer, to which his answer is: "Evidently such a body should give the lead in the payment of wages and in the treatment of its men. How does the London County Council? Without a doubt, in the most hypocritical and capitalistic way."

The writer then goes on to deal with the alleged action of the London County Council in regard to its tramway employees. The first grievance referred to is the treatment of the spare men. "It will frequently happen," states the writer of this article, "that a spare man will, under the present arrangements, only get about three or four days work in a week. As he starts with 4s. 9d. per day, this means 14s. 3d., or 19s. sometimes, as compared with 37s. 6d. received by the top-rate man, who puts in six days per week."

The next matter treated of is the "gradations in the pay" of these tramway employees. As to this we are told: "No one who knows anything of the strain upon the men will pretend that 6s. 3d. is too much for either a conductor or a driver, nor will anyone cognisant of the facts say the Council cannot afford, and well afford, the payment given. **It comes then to this, that the great County Council is a gigantic sweeter, making base pretence at the time of election, but carrying out the action and the spirit of the ordinary capitalist.**"

In concluding his remarks on the "grievances of the spare men," the writer says: "It is not from lack of knowledge that the Council permits the sparemen's grievance to remain. **Appeals have been made time after time. The grievances remain unredressed, and London boasts her Progressive Councillors.**"

The next grievance alluded to is that of fines. "A ridiculously overpaid official still has it in his power to fine men for missing time and for showing up late," says the writer.

The next allegation brought under consideration is : "Interference with trade unionism." As to this the writer asserts : "Before the Council took over the tramways, the tramway company were distinctly antagonistic to trade combination. The old animosity still remains." "I wish you wouldn't belong to the Union," said an official to a regulator, "Mr. so-and-so doesn't like it."

Various allegations are next made as to what is termed the "petty tyranny that obtains" on the part of some of the leading officials towards the ordinary employees. In this connection, the statement is put forward that : "Plainly the position is such to-day, that the men are afraid to speak lest someone should see them. Never in the worst days of the old company was there such a feeling of bitterness amongst the ticket-inspectors and regulators."

Instances of what are described as "blackguardism in the yards" are next set out. The writer concludes his remarks on this subject with the words : "And as this happens under a Puritanic County Council, one rather laughs at the smug hypocrisy of Councillors who allow such things to be."

What is described as the "strange methods of payment" in the "yards" elicits the remark "That the County Council sweats labour, and that **most of its members ought to be opposed by every trade unionist in London.** Surely the London County Council, regardless of persons employed, should at least pay trade union rates of wages."

The next complaint is, as to the utter indifference of the Council and its members towards these employees.

"Quite in harmony with their general line of action," continues the article, "was the charging their workers ordinary fares to and from their work."

As to this, we are told : "In the days of the old company such things were not tolerated, and it was for the London County Council to begin the mean business of charging car cleaners for their rides to and from home. It is true the thing has been recently put right, but only after a lot of working and appealing on the part of the men's Union."

"Another meanness of the Council," the writer next

observes: "is seen in its idea of superannuation." As to this, he states: "Every person receiving a big salary, or employed in the office, is put on the superannuation list, but men outside are not regarded as other than temporary men."

The allegation throughout is that, while practically nothing is too good for the higher paid officials; the treatment is very different so far as the minor employees are concerned.

"Yet while the poorly paid worker is treated with asperity, the well-paid official receives caresses galore. He may make mistakes, but these may mean promotion."

The indictment contained in this article concludes with the words: "It is time for the workers of London to play a part in Council matters: to elect those who are fearless and true, and to attack this piece of hypocrisy which exists for the enriching of well-paid officialdom and its friends."

Rates of Pay, &c., of Tramway Employees.

The following table shows the rates of pay, hours of work, &c., of the Northern Metropolitan Tramway Company's and L.C.C. tramway employees. (Extracted from the Council's Minutes of July 24th, 1906, p. 373, &c.)

North Metropolitan Tramway Company.					L.C.C. Tramways.			
Description of Work.	No. of Men.	Hours per Week.	Average Pay per Week.	Average Pay per Hour.	No. of Men.	Hours per Week.	Average Pay per Week.	Average Pay per Hour.
Drivers	717	70	s. d. 41 10	d. 7½	837	60	s. d. 37 8	d. 7½
Conductors	718	70	41 10	7½	838	60	37 8	7½
Horsekeepers ..	570	63	27 10	5¼	634	60	26 0	5¼
Track Cleaners ..	35	62	27 6	5¼	37	60	25 0	5
Washers	71	63	27 8	5¼	83	60	25 0	5
Other Employees, Various	349	64	35 6	6¼	401	59	35 5	7¼
Total and Average ..	2,460	67½	37 3	6¼	2,830	60	34 3	7

Total weekly wages, North Metropolitan Tramway Company
£4,569.

Total weekly wages, L.C.C. Tramways = £4,864.

NOTE.—370 Extra men employed by Council involve an extra payment of £295 per week, which works out at 10s. per week for each extra man.

The necessity for a proper Audit.

NOTE.—As to this subject, *c.f.* further, Article on L.C.C. Finance, Part I., Vol. II.

In this connection the Municipal Reform Party is bound, in the public interest, to work for the carrying out of the recommendations of the Select Committee on Municipal Trading, 1903, viz., to secure the establishment of a uniform system of municipal accounts and an audit conducted by qualified and independent auditors, as recommended by the report of that Committee. Such auditors shall :—

(A) Certify that separate accounts of all trading undertakings have been kept, and that every charge which each ought to bear has been duly debited; and

(B) Express an opinion upon the necessity of reserve funds, and the adequacy of amounts set aside to meet depreciation and obsolescence of plant.

The Select Committee on Municipal Trading were not satisfied, nor are the people of London satisfied, with the present system of auditing, not only ordinary municipal accounts, but the accounts of municipal undertakings. One of the duties of the Municipal Reform Party is to impress on the ratepayers the great need for a proper audit. In June, 1906, in the case of the Wood Green Urban District Council, after the Local Government audit had taken place, a deficit of £5,000 was found by a professional accountant who had been called in to investigate the accounts. At a meeting of the Urban District Council on June 27th, 1906, the Chairman (Mr. J. T. Davies) made a public statement regarding the matter, and (according to *The Hornsey and Finsbury Park Journal* of June 29th, 1906) said: “The Local Government Board Auditor told him that he did not trouble himself how the accounts were kept so long as the entries were accurate, and every item properly vouched, and the payments authorised by the District Council. That was how the erroneous accounts were passed by the Local Government Board Auditor.”

Progressive Extravagance.

It is, of course, very desirable that we should have extensions of tramways, but we do not want an excessive number of unprofitable extensions. The business must pay its way. It is necessary to remember that it is the London ratepayers' money which is invested, and the tramways should be run on sound financial lines. In June, 1905, a report was brought up by the Highways Committee recommending the extension and re-construction of 17 miles of tramways, in regard to which the Finance Committee reported that there would be an annual deficit of £13,000. Mr. (now Sir) A. M. Torrance, Radical Member for Central Glasgow, ex-Chairman of the L.C.C., and a Progressive stalwart, in a speech at the Council on June 6th, 1905, said, in referring to these proposals:—

“If ever there was a case of Rake's Progress, it seems to me, without respect of party it is the position of the London County Council at the present moment. The commitments of the Council are appalling. The financial position of the Council is one that I look upon with certain grave doubt as to what is to be done in the future. . . Mr. Hardy makes a great deal of South London and yet South London is remarkably well off compared with the North of London, which has no electric communication whatever. Speaking for the North of London, and speaking as a business man, too, I am prepared to wait a little while even for electric cars in the North of London. I do not think the position of the London County Council at the present moment is fairly understood by most of the members themselves. In the near future, when the rates are going up, then the pinch will come, and the outcry will be heard. I have no fault whatever to find with the desire to see these trams carried out by-and-bye. The only fault I find is with the racehorse speed of my friend the chairman of the Highways Committee and his Committee; with him they are going rather too quickly and taking no heed to the warnings given them by the Finance Committee. I wish the Finance Committee had more control over the finances of the Council than they appear to have now. At the present moment every Committee is recommending something extraordinary, and the Finance Committee somehow have to find the money. I appeal to the Council, I move no amendment. I do not expect on a question like this I should get ten followers. But I have my own opinion as to the Council's parlous position, because of the extravagant commitments under which it has placed itself. I look upon this proposal as just another step in the wrong direction of going too fast.”

Annual Report on the L.C.C. Tramways, 1905-6.

The following particulars are taken from the L.C.C. tramways account for the year ended 31st March, 1906 :—

In regard to the **Southern System**, the net capital expenditure in respect of the whole of these tramways amounted on March 31st, 1906, to £3,070,828, of which £293,491 has been repaid out of revenue, the amount of the outstanding debt on that date being £2,777,337. During the year 1905-6, the net expenditure on capital account amounted to £374,582. This amount includes £49,825 for the purchase of the undertaking of the Woolwich and South-East London Tramways Company, a large proportion of the remainder being in connection with the reconstruction for electric traction of certain sections of the tramways.

The total receipts from the undertaking during the year, and the working expenses, were as follows :—

	£	s.	d.
Total receipts	782,210	5	2
Working expenses	561,755	17	2
Making the <i>gross</i> surplus on working	220,454	8	0

Debt charges, amounting to £174,863, and a provision of £8,000 for income tax, have been set against the sum of £220,454 above referred to, and a sum of £35,000 has been transferred to the renewals reserve fund, **leaving a net surplus of £2,319** to be carried to the appropriation account. This compares with a net surplus of £7,054 in 1904-5, when the same amount was set aside for renewals and other special charges were made.

The total receipts have been £100,114 more than in 1904-5, notwithstanding the fact that the reconstruction of the Catford, Battersea, and a portion of the Woolwich lines for electric traction was commenced during the year, thereby reducing to some extent the receipts from these lines.

The total amount of the renewals reserve fund established in connection with the undertaking was, at the beginning of

the year 1905-6, £66,207. Dividends on investments and interest on the bank balance of the fund, amounted during the year to £2,076, and, as indicated above, a further sum of £35,000* has been added to the fund during the year. The fund has not been drawn upon during the year, and the balance carried forward to the current year is £103,683.

"No comparison of working expenses," states the report, "can be made with those of former years owing to the different circumstances obtaining. It may be stated, however, that the total operating expenses for electric traction were £407,557, or 8·04d. per car mile run, including £1,875 for special charges. The total expenses in connection with horse traction amounted to £154,198, or 10·83d. per car mile run including £829."

During the year 1905-6 several further sections of electric lines were opened for traffic, including the extension of the Tooting lines to Tooting Broadway, and the New Cross to Lewisham tramways, while new car services on various portions of the system have been instituted.

As regards the **Northern system**, the report contains the following information :—

The Northern tramways system consists of a total of about 50½ street miles of line. Nearly the whole of these lines (48½ miles) were up to March 31st, 1906, leased to, and worked by, the North Metropolitan Tramways Company by horse traction.

The total capital expenditure up to March 31st, 1906, in respect of the Northern system, amounted to £1,118,166. The

* As regards electric traction, the number of car miles run is stated in this same report at 12,164,292. The amount for depreciation at 1d. per car mile run would, on this mileage, work out at £50,684; whilst, as stated above, the amount added to the renewals reserve fund during the year was £35,000.

Lord Welby, the Chairman of the Finance Committee, in his annual statement for the financial year 1906-7, said: "The Finance Committee are inclined to think that a penny per car mile run is not quite sufficient"; whilst the Royal Commission on London Traffic, in their report, stated: "If the tramways are operated by the municipalities concerned, we think that they should be worked on sound financial principles, *with ample provision for depreciation and repayment of capital or discharge of debt.*"

The amount therefore set aside towards the renewals reserve fund would, on Lord Welby's own showing, appear to be wholly insufficient.

Under these circumstances, what becomes of the alleged net surplus on the Southern system of £2,319?

net amount expended out of capital account during the year was £151,408. The amount of the outstanding debt was, on March 31st, 1906, £983,282; repayments of capital amounting in all to £134,883 having been made out of revenue.

As regards the lines not worked by the Council, the receipts for the year 1905-6, by way of rent, &c., were £61,740 from the North Metropolitan Tramways Company, which, added to the amounts derived from sundry small leases, give a total of £62,411. The expenditure during the year, mostly for doubling short lengths of tramways, assessment appeals, and rent drawbacks, amounted to £1,458, **leaving the net receipts £60,952.** Out of this sum, debt charges amounting to £35,659 have been paid, so that the surplus revenue carried to appropriation account is £25,256, as compared with £22,836 in 1904-5.

Under the heading "General," the report states:—

Capital expenditure, amounting on March 31st, 1906, to £544,018, had been incurred in respect of the provision of generating stations and on the authorised tramways and street widenings from Putney to Harlesden. The net amount expended for these purposes during the year 1905-6 was £237,078.

As regards tramway street improvements, in pursuance of various resolutions of the Council apportioning the cost of street improvements, capital expenditure of £85,399, £29,505, and £38,100, making a total of £153,004, has, according to the report, up to March 31st, 1906, been charged to the Southern tramways system, the Northern system, and the general accounts respectively, in respect of the cost of street improvements in connection with tramways. Most of these street improvements are not yet completed.

In regard to appropriation of surplus revenue, the report states:—

The surplus balance of the appropriation account on April 1st, 1905, was £29,988, and the surplus revenue of £2,319 and £25,256 on the Southern and Northern systems respectively for the year 1905-6 increased this amount on March 31st, 1906, to a total of £57,565. From this figure, however, must be deducted the deficiency of £742 on the working of the Aldwych

to Islington tramways, and £25,573 expended on the general account respectively. The net surplus balance on March 31st, 1906, amounted, therefore, to £31,249.

(*Extracted from the L.C.C. Agenda for July 31st, 1906, p. 146, et seq.*)

Tramway Estimates for the year 1906-7.

On May 8th, 1906, Lord Welby, Chairman of the Finance Committee, in presenting the estimates of receipts and expenses for the financial year 1906-7, said :—

“ I now come to a very interesting subject, our tramways.

“ On 1st April last, we took over the Northern tramways. We wish to electrify 50 miles on the south, and we shall electrify 50 miles besides on the north.

	£	£
The Southern system has already cost us	3,141,319	
We require to complete the South about	1,000,000	
	<hr/>	4,141,319
The Northern system has cost us	1,095,469	
We require to complete it say	3,500,000	
	<hr/>	4,595,469
Carried forward.. ..	.. ..	8,736,788
The generating station at Greenwich has already cost us ..	£390,080	
And we require to complete it..	500,000	
	<hr/>	890,080
Sundry expenditure already incurred, not yet charged to either system because it is not yet revenue producing, amounts to ..	..	191,166
New lines authorised will cost ..	..	1,100,000
		<hr/>
Making a total actual and estimated expenditure on authorised tramways .. ..	..	10,918,034
		<hr/>
Or say ..	..	£11,000,000

“ The total debt already incurred up to 31st March last was £4,818,034. In the comparatively short period during which we have been owners of the tramways, we have paid off no less than one-eighth of the debt incurred up to the present

for tramways—£607,231. But we still need £6,000,000 more to complete the work of electrification. The Finance Committee agree with the Highways Committee that it is desirable to complete this work as soon as possible; but the Council would do well to bear this heavy charge in mind, and not entertain fresh schemes for expenditure, however desirable, until we have met the largest part of this expenditure. As it has been expressed to me, cannot the Council give its stock a little rest?

"I am glad to say that last year on the South the receipts exceeded the estimates by £57,000, whilst the expenditure increased by £24,000. We are, therefore, £33,000 better off at the end of the year than Mr. Allen Baker and his Committee had estimated. In consequence of this improvement the Committee, instead of paying £15,000 were able to pay £35,000 to the reserve fund.

For 1905-6 there is a surplus on the Southern system of	£ 4,165
The surplus on the Northern system is	23,593
Total surplus	27,758
On the other hand, there is a deficiency on the general account of	24,735
Net surplus	3,023

"Thus, after putting aside sinking fund on the debt, appropriating £35,000 to the reserve fund and paying off £8,973 of debt on a temporary station, we close 1905-6 practically in equilibrium.

"In 1906-7, we have taken over the North, and what was a surplus on the North is, during the period of re-construction, turned into a deficit, but we expect from the South a surplus of income over expenditure of £51,063 after providing £62,500 for renewals. This will cover the Northern deficiency and will leave a slight sum over.

"The renewals fund is a matter of very great interest. The Finance Committee have laid it down as their policy, and I believe on that point they are in agreement with the Highways Committee, to make the renewals fund equal to a penny per car mile run. **The Finance Committee are inclined to think that a penny per car mile run is not quite sufficient.** We have the subject under consideration. **I believe I am right in stating that, on the basis of a penny per car mile run, we want about £40,000 or £50,000 in order to make the reserve fund adequate up to date.** The Council will be satisfied that what I have just been saying represents a most satisfactory account of the tramways."

Report of the London Traffic Commission.

NOTE.—This subject is dealt with in greater detail on pages 106 to 123 *infra*.

The Report of the Royal Commission appointed on February 10th, 1903, to inquire into and report upon the means of locomotion and transport in London, was issued on July 17th, 1905, as a Blue Book (Cd. 2597 of 1905). The most important recommendation of the Commission is that a tribunal, with limited and special powers, should be created.

The Traffic Authority.

“At first sight,” the report states, “it might appear that the general control of measures affecting locomotion and transport in London, as well as power to carry them out, should be given to some existing local authority, or to a local authority to be created for the purpose; but we are satisfied that any such proposal is impracticable under present conditions. **It would be impossible to confer the necessary powers,** with jurisdiction over the whole of ‘Greater London,’ which extends into five adjoining counties, **on the London County Council or any other existing local authority or body,** and the creation of a new authority, empowered to deal finally with all questions of London Locomotion, would involve intolerable interference with the existing local authorities, and give rise to endless friction. As an authority authorised to raise and expend public money, it would necessarily be composed of representatives of the districts included in its jurisdiction, and would consequently be so large as to be unsuited for the direct exercise of executive and administrative functions. For practical purposes its authority would require to be delegated to a very great extent, except as to matters of great magnitude and importance or involving questions of principle, to a much smaller and specially selected body. For these reasons it appears impossible to bestow upon any existing authority, or any combination of existing authorities, the power of controlling locomotion and transport and carrying out the necessary works over the entire area of ‘Greater London.’ Nor would it be possible to entrust such powers to a new and elected authority without an interference with existing institutions, so violent as to amount almost to a municipal revolution, and we are unable to recommend the placing of such powers in the hands of any nominated body. That would be, in effect, to supersede municipal self-government, and to confer upon an unrepres-

sentative body the right to spend the money of the ratepayers ; it would not be tolerated even if it were otherwise desirable.

“ It seems to follow that the only course remaining is to establish a central body, limited in its powers and duties, so as to avoid interference with the functions of existing local authorities. It is necessary to define clearly the powers and duties which should belong to such central body before determining its constitution.”

Powers and Duties of the proposed Traffic Board.

The report then proceeds to set out the powers and duties of the proposed Traffic Board. It should make a yearly report to Parliament on locomotion, transport and traffic in Greater London ; examine private Bills, report thereon for the information of Parliament, and make suggestions for the improvement of Bills, and settle clauses for the protection of public or private interests. The Board should also prepare schemes, investigate certain problems, and make by-laws and regulations, and in many other ways promote the provision of better locomotion. Some important questions on which the Board might be required to report are the improvement of the main roads leading out of London ; the building laws in Greater London ; the breaking-up of streets, and the consolidation and amendment of the laws affecting traffic.

The list of duties to be performed by the Board are by no means exhaustive, but the Commissioners feel that in proposing a measure which is, in many respects, of a novel character, it would be most inexpedient to attempt to stereotype its features at the outset. The Board should grow and be developed as further experience and changing circumstances may show to be necessary.

Constitution of the Traffic Board.

As to the constitution of the Traffic Board the report states that—

“ What is required for such purposes as we contemplate is a small number of specially qualified persons, selected solely on the ground of their competence, and holding office for a

considerable period subject always to good behaviour. Our views on this subject will be most conveniently explained by setting out what we consider should be the actual constitution of such a body. We are of opinion that the Board should consist of a chairman and not more than four nor less than two other members; and we prefer that there should be not more than three members in all, if it is found that they can satisfactorily discharge the duties assigned to them. No member of the Board should engage in any business or have any interests which might conflict, or appear to conflict, with the proper discharge of his official duties; nor should he be a member of any local authority in London or have any occupation which would limit the time which he could devote to the work of the Board. As efficiency is indispensable, the members of the Board should be specially selected by your Majesty's Government, and be paid such salaries as are sufficient to secure thoroughly competent men. It has been suggested that one member should be a lawyer by profession, and another an engineer, but the Board could take legal and expert advice when necessary; and we prefer that the choice of your Majesty's Government should be unfettered by statutory restrictions. What appears to us to be really essential is that the members of the Board should be capable men of business, energetic, impartial, and able to devote, if necessary, their whole time to the work of the Board.

“(213.) It is very desirable that the Board should be in touch and work in harmony with the chief municipal authorities of London, and on that account we should be glad if it had been practicable for one member of the Board to be nominated by the London County Council and one by the Corporation of the City of London; but this course seems to us inexpedient in view of all the circumstances of the case. It is impossible that all the county and other local authorities of ‘Greater London’ should be represented on the Board, and the objection has been raised that the authorities who were represented would be thereby given undue influence, to the prejudice of the other authorities whose interests might be conflicting. We are, therefore, driven to the conclusion that it will be best for all the members of the Board, including the chairman, to be appointed by your Majesty's Government; and we recommend that this course be followed. The first members of the Board should be named in the Act providing for its constitution and prescribing its functions.

“(214.) The Board should keep in touch with all the local and other authorities in ‘Greater London,’ and maintain a friendly attitude towards them and towards all companies and persons that work railways, tramways, or other means for facilitating locomotion and transport, in and around London,

using its influence in the direction of conciliation ; encouraging and assisting all attempts at co-operative action ; and being ready to act as arbitrator in cases of disagreement between the public authorities, companies and other persons above referred to. It should be given such a staff as experience may show to be necessary for the proper discharge of its duties.

“(215.) The cost of the Board, with that of its establishment, must be considerable, but fees could be charged in connection with its duties, though we do not recommend that this should be done to such an extent as to increase the existing burdens on promoters. The cost of the Board, in excess of the fees levied in connection with it, should be levied rateably from the local areas within its jurisdiction.”

Summary of the Commissioners’ Conclusions.

Summarising their conclusions, the Commissioners state :—

“It is imperatively necessary, in the interests of public health and public convenience, and for the prompt transaction of business, as well as to render decent housing possible, that the means of locomotion and transport in London and its adjacent districts should be improved : they are seriously defective, and the demands and needs of the public are annually increasing.

“The main obstacle to such improvement is the narrowness of the streets, which were not laid out in accordance with any general plan. The arterial roads leading out of London largely suffer from the same defects. A comprehensive plan for the improvement of streets and main roads should be prepared and carried out continuously, as financial considerations will allow. We have suggested some improvements : many more might be suggested, but the difficulty is one of money, and progress must be gradual.

“Building laws and regulations, in regard to width, are required to preserve gardens and forecourts in existing streets, with a view to future widening, so as to ensure a sufficient breadth for new streets, and to make certain that, on property hereafter laid out for building, ample space shall be reserved for thorough as well as local traffic.

“Increased modern means of locomotion and transport are much needed, both to facilitate movement within the central area and to facilitate access to and from and within the suburbs for those who work in London and live outside. Electric tramways and railways are necessary for both these purposes ; tramways mostly for the former, and railways mostly for the latter, with inter-connection between the two.

“The tramways system of London is disconnected and insufficient: it should be largely extended, and the portions of the tramway system that are now isolated should be linked together, through communication being provided from east to west, and from north to south.

“We believe that much could be done in tramway development without having recourse, at any rate in the first instance, to great and costly street improvements, but, as such improvements are unavoidable, in any case, the preference should be given to those which will facilitate the extension of the tramway system.

“The absolute ‘veto’ over the construction of tramways possessed by local and street authorities should be abolished throughout the area of ‘Greater London,’ but with a preferential right to county councils, and the Corporation of the City of London, to construct tramways within their districts, if they are prepared to do so.

“Tramways should run through from side to side of London so far as possible, and termini, in the streets and central districts, should be avoided.

“In regard to railways, their further development must be governed by the features of the existing and authorised systems, which should be extended and improved: we have suggested various extensions and improvements.

“It is important that all possible facilities should be afforded to suburban passengers arriving at the terminal stations to reach their destinations throughout the central area by railway, either by means of through trains or by interchange within the stations to which the suburban trains may run.

“In the more crowded parts of London, where property is expensive, railways must be placed underground. Railways in shallow subways are preferable to ‘tube’ railways, where the cost is not prohibitive, or where other considerations do not render them impracticable. We desire to draw special attention to the importance that urban railways, traversing London from side to side, on routes where there is a heavy traffic, should have four lines of way, in order to provide a separate service for fast and for stopping trains, and thus admit, by means of a few interchange stations, of rapid transit to the suburbs from all the stations on the local service lines.

“Owing to the high capital cost of ‘tube’ railways, constructed under present conditions, there is a difficulty in providing a sufficient number of such railways to distribute population over the outlying districts, but we are advised that it is possible to construct a cheaper type of deep-level railway adapted for suburban traffic, with fewer and less expensive

stations, and rising to the surface when the open country is reached: such railways would help to solve the 'housing problem' by carrying the population to districts not yet built over.

"If private enterprise will not construct the necessary railways, the local authorities might be authorised to give assistance in view of the fact that re-housing within the central area involves a heavy loss to the rates, and that it may be cheaper, and will be better in other respects, to help in making healthier residences in the suburbs accessible. Assistance might be afforded, either by remission of rates, or by direct contribution, according to the precedent of the Light Railways Act, 1896, and the recommendations of the Joint Committee of 1901 on London Underground Railways.

"In cases where railways exist, but additional train services are required to open up new districts for building, and railway companies decline, and cannot, under the existing law be compelled, to put on additional trains, local authorities might be empowered, if the necessity is urgent, to guarantee, for a limited period, such net receipts per train mile, for the proposed trains, as may be reasonable.

"In cases where a new railway is proposed to be made, which would have the effect of opening out a district for building purposes, we think that a railway company might be authorised to purchase, under proper safeguards, land, likely to be increased in value by the construction of the railway, by means of voluntary agreement with the owner of such land.

"As no practicable improvement of the streets, that can be carried out for many years, will completely remove the congestion of street traffic, special attention should be given to:—

"(1) Improved regulations for traffic.

"(2) The avoidance of certain oversights or defects in the construction and maintenance of the streets; the removal of fixed obstructions from them in certain cases; and the control, in the future, of the erection of such obstructions.

"(3) The introduction of a system for minimising the evils caused by the breaking up of the streets by persons and companies having statutory authority to do so.

"(4) Regulation of the use of the streets by costermongers and itinerant vendors.

"(5) The removal of special obstructions to traffic.

"A comprehensive plan for the improvement and construction of main roads leading out of London should be prepared, and arrangements made for carrying out such plan, and for the proper maintenance of the roads when constructed.

"Improved building laws are required for application to districts not yet built over, and, possibly, it may be found expedient, in special cases, to prepare 'building plans' for particular areas. The law affecting traffic and prescribing the respective functions and powers of the municipal, local and other authorities in 'Greater London,' should be simplified and consolidated.

"A Traffic Board should be appointed with jurisdiction over 'Greater London,' constituted as explained in Part III. of this report, and authorised and required to discharge the duties therein set forth."

Recommendations not yet carried into effect.

It was the intention of the late Unionist Government, had it not been for the General Election, to have introduced in the first Session of Parliament for 1906, a Bill creating a Traffic Board for London in accordance with the recommendation of the Royal Commission.

This announcement was made in the course of a correspondence which passed between Sir Henry Oakley, Chairman of the Central London Railway, and Sir Francis Hopwood, Permanent Secretary to the Board of Trade.

Sir Francis Hopwood, in a letter dated November 13th, 1905, wrote as follows:—

"In reply to your note of to-day's date I am authorised by Lord Salisbury to inform you that H.M. Government have sanctioned the preparation of a Bill relating to London traffic, and involving the establishment of a Traffic Board, as recommended by the Royal Commission.

"It is impossible to say what effect (if any) the introduction of the Bill would have upon the decisions of Parliamentary committees appointed to deal with railway and other private Bills touching the traffic interests of London, but Lord Salisbury thinks it is only fair that notice should be given of the intention of the Government to introduce such a Bill, in order that, in the light of this information, promoters may determine what course they think it right to adopt as to proceeding with their proposals during the coming Session."—(*The Times*, November 14th, 1905.)

Up to the present time, the new Government have manifested no intention of dealing with this most important, and

most urgent, question ; and which daily becomes more complex and more difficult of solution. The following, however, affords some indication of the present Government's views on the subject.

Mr. John Burns and London Traffic.

One of the recommendations of the London Traffic Commission, as previously stated, was to the effect that a special advisory board should be constituted to regulate and control London traffic. Mr. John Burns, President of the Local Government Board, in an article in *The Pall Mall Magazine* for June, 1906, in dealing with this recommendation, wrote :—" There is only one fault in the report, but one that is never likely to be stereotyped in administrative and supervisory fact ; and that is, the recommendation to institute an Advisory Board. Such a body already exists ; its headquarters are at Spring Gardens, its achievements are seen around in the five hundred road and street improvements it has carried out in eighteen years."

It would be difficult to conceive a greater violation of justice than to make the L.C.C. the authority for the regulation of London traffic. There is grave reason for doubting whether they, deeply interested as they are in tramways, would use their powers justly towards other forms of locomotion. The L.C.C. blocked and defeated the first proposal to build the Twopenny Tube. The Progressives are constantly opposing and delaying schemes for providing cheap, fast means of travelling for the people of London. That opposition is not by any means dictated by pure motives of public interest, but is animated largely by a desire to protect their tramways against competition. The Progressives on the L.C.C. naturally want to avoid any competition with their tramways. For this reason, they are not in a position to impartially undertake the control and regulation of the traffic of London. Possibly the L.C.C. would have been the best authority to have undertaken that duty, were it not for the fact that they are so deeply involved in tramway enterprises.

The Overbridge Tramways' Question.

As to the question of the Overbridge Tramways. The attitude of the Moderate Party at the London County Council is best defined in the words of Mr. J. Allen Baker, M.P. (the then Progressive Chairman of the Highways Committee of the L.C.C.). In a pamphlet recently issued by the London Liberal Federation, entitled "The Lords *v.* London—The Overbridge Trams." Mr. Baker states that the action of the House of Lords in 1905, in rejecting the L.C.C. scheme was :—

"(4) In opposition to the *united* wishes of both Progressives and Moderates on the London County Council" (page 6).

The Council and the Local Veto.

The County Council is the tramway authority for the whole of the County of London, since the Metropolitan Boroughs have no powers with regard to public locomotion. But under the Standing Orders of the two Houses of Parliament, while the County Council is able to prevent any tramway project of a private company from being brought before the legislature, the Borough Councils can, if they please, exercise a similar veto against any Tramway Bill of the County Council. The arrangement has its inconveniences, and there is much to be said for constituting a tribunal or board to which all projects for public locomotion in the Metropolitan area, whether concerned with tube railways, subways, or tramways, should be submitted. Such a body might be able to deal with the problem of London passenger transport as a whole, to bring the administrative county into close touch with the outer areas, and to apply general and systematic treatment throughout the entire region.

This is one of the questions specially included in the reference to the Royal Commission on London Locomotion, appointed by His Majesty's Government in the Session of 1903. Much valuable evidence has been laid before the Commission by the engineer, the architect, the valuer, and other officials of the Council. The views of the Progressive majority have been stated to the Commissioners by Mr. Dickinson and Mr. (now

Sir J. W.) Benn. While they do not object to a tribunal, which might supervise other forms of locomotion, these gentlemen insist that the tramway rights of the Spring Gardens authority must be sacred. Their veto against the private companies must remain untouched, but, on the other hand, the veto of the Boroughs is to be removed. Mr. Benn was subjected to a somewhat severe cross-examination by several of the Commissioners on this point. But he declined to budge from his position, which is part of the Progressive municipal creed. The London County Council is to be autocratic and omnipotent where tramways are concerned.

The Metropolitan Borough Councils are, however, naturally disinclined to abandon their veto on tramway legislation, unless their interests are efficiently safeguarded in other ways—as they might be by the proposed tribunal or standing commission. After all, it is through their streets that the tramways must run, and their constituents are closely affected, both as ratepayers and frontagers. A new tramway, or the electrification of an old one, usually involves street widenings. The London County Council refuses to pay the whole cost of these works, even when they are required solely for tramway purposes. On the plea that they are local improvements (though the locality may not want them), they demand a contribution of one-third of the cost from the local authority. The result has been a series of undignified squabbles, in which each party, no doubt, tries to “squeeze” the other. But the Borough Council is at a great disadvantage in these negotiations, and without the veto would be almost powerless. It can only protect itself against a demand that is extortionate by refusing to consent to the introduction of a Tramway Bill, unless the promoters will meet it fairly. The method is clumsy; but it should not be given up, unless there is some security that the County Council will not be permitted to carry out its projects without due regard to local rights and sentiment, or to lighten its own swollen budget by throwing upon particular districts expenditure which ought to be distributed over the whole of the Metropolitan area.

Other Forms of Locomotion.

It must not be forgotten, as we have said, that while tramways are exceedingly valuable, they are not the only means of public locomotion in London; other facilities are being, and should be, further developed, and the Moderates of the County Council, unlike the Progressives, have no desire to use municipal resources to crush or enfeeble private enterprise.

Tube Railways.

During the past few years underground railways running in deep-level tunnels have been established in Glasgow, and have enjoyed a large and increasing measure of popularity. After the success of the Central London Railway, many other schemes were conceived by various companies. Many of these competing and conflicting schemes were authorised before the importance of the whole subject was realised. It is to be regretted that the Council did not make serious representations to Parliament and the Government at an earlier stage.

However, in the Session of 1902, various Bills, then before Parliament, were ordered to be submitted to a Joint Committee, so as to ascertain whether they could not be dealt with on uniform and systematic principles. The question was too large to be disposed of in a single Session. Several of the more doubtful schemes were condemned by the Joint Committee, while some of the others were amalgamated.

At the present time most of these tube railways in London are either already open or nearing completion.

Unquestionably, so soon as the remainder are open for public traffic, locomotion in London will be facilitated to a very large extent, and much more rapid means will be in existence than has ever hitherto been the case.

In this particular method of locomotion, London, it may fairly be contended, will shortly be second to no other city in the world.

Subways.

An alternative to the deep-level "tube" railway is the "shallow tunnel," or underground tram subway, immediately

beneath the surface of the roadway. This system is being, or has been, adopted in Boston, New York, Paris, Buda-Pesth, and other cities. It has the advantage of dispensing with lifts, since the station can be reached by a short flight of steps from the street pavements, and it can take the ordinary tramway rolling-stock and connect directly with the surface cars. The subways can also carry all electric wires, drain pipes, water mains, &c., so that the necessity for constantly opening up the surface of the roadway would be avoided. The County Council, prior to 1904, decided to carry the Northern tramways from the present terminus in Theobald's Road, by a subway through Southampton Row and the new Kingsway, under the Strand, to a point near Waterloo Bridge, with the idea of eventually connecting with the Southern system, whenever Parliament should allow a tramway to be laid along the Victoria Embankment and across Waterloo Bridge.

This shallow tube tramway has since been opened during the course of the present year (February 24th, 1906), and at the present time tramways are being laid along the Embankment, which, according to a report of the Highways Committee, dated July 12th and 19th, 1906, it is hoped "may be in operation, if possible, before the end of the present year."*

The cost, and the practical difficulties of dealing with private subsoil rights, make it extremely difficult to construct many of these subways under existing thoroughfares; but provision should be made for them in planning out new streets, and particularly in forming those wide arterial roads from the central districts to the suburbs, which would provide the most effectual permanent relief for the traffic congestion of the Metropolis. Broad, radiating avenues, with their surface free for motors, omnibuses, cabs, waggons, carts and bicycles, and with fast subway trams underground, would do more than anything else to solve the problems of congestion, locomotion, and the housing of the working classes. A comprehensive

* NOTE.—The Highways Committee in their report dated December 6th, 1906, state that the construction of the tramways over Westminster Bridge and along the Victoria Embankment has now been completed, and that it is hoped that the lines will be worked by December 15th, 1906.

process of "Hausmannization" of London is, perhaps, no longer possible ; but the Council might have done more in the way of drawing broad roads, with valuable new frontages, through back streets and slum property, instead of spending enormous sums on partial and inadequate widenings of overcrowded main thoroughfares. They might have adopted the policy which, in the past, created Oxford Street and Regent Street, Portland Place, Victoria Street, Westminster, and Shaftesbury Avenue. The Council has hardly attempted anything of the kind on a large scale, with the solitary exception of the ambitious reconstruction between the Strand and Holborn. In this respect the much-decried Metropolitan Board of Works exhibited more originality and a truer conception of the needs of London than its successors.

Omnibuses.

The Progressives have hardly concealed their hostility to the omnibuses. It is their openly expressed aspiration that their tramways may "run the 'buses off the streets," pending which consummation they would be very glad to go into the omnibus business themselves, with the ratepayers' money behind them. The Municipal Reformers, on the other hand, recognise that the omnibus companies have given Londoners an excellent public service, as well managed and convenient as anything to be found anywhere. They do not consider that there is any necessary rivalry between the two methods of conveyance. The electric tramways will be of the utmost value in transporting passengers over comparatively long distances at a rapid pace ; but for short journeys, with frequent stoppages, the omnibuses will still be required. And as the horses are gradually superseded by electric or petroleum motors, the 'buses will be more easily handled ; they will be able to carry a larger number of persons on each car at reduced fares ; and they will continue to be a most useful element in London locomotion, if allowed fair play and not stifled by administrative restrictions.

For these reasons the Municipal Reformers do not regret that the Progressive attempts to run County Council omnibuses have been defeated.

When the lines of the Southern Tramway Companies were purchased, the Council took over from these companies certain "feeder" omnibuses, used to carry passengers across Westminster and Waterloo Bridges. But they also bought new vehicles and proceeded to run a regular line of London County Council omnibuses along the Strand. The omnibus proprietors brought an action to decide whether the Council was not exceeding its powers. On April 6th, 1900, judgment was given to the effect that the action of the Council was *ultra vires*, and that it had no legal power to run omnibuses. Here the matter might well have rested. But the Highways Committee insisted on wasting the ratepayers' money on a series of appeals, combined with ineffectual attempts to gain authority from Parliament for their omnibus enterprises.

The omnibus proprietors sent a most influential deputation to the Highways Committee and offered, if the Council would abandon its application to Parliament, to take over the Council's omnibuses, to run them without any increase of fares, and to provide an adequate service over the various bridges. The Moderates strongly urged that this offer should be accepted and further expense be avoided.

The Council, however, at the instance of the Progressive Highways Committee, decided to go on with the litigation. The case reached the House of Lords in the summer of 1903, and final judgment was given against the Council, who were ordered to discontinue the service.

Thus, at a great and needless cost, it has been demonstrated that this particular kind of municipal trading is illegal, and that the Council will not be allowed to supersede private companies, against whom no complaint of inefficiency has been made, and who have at stake a large capital usefully employed for the general benefit of the community. The whole transaction—against which at every stage the Moderates strongly protested—is another example of the misguided ambition of the Progressives to enlarge the functions of the Council beyond the ample limits assigned to them by the legislature.

So far as the highway of the Thames and the steamboats are concerned, this subject is dealt with elsewhere in the article entitled "The L.C.C. Steamboat Service."

Motor Omnibuses.

As regards the motor 'buses in and about London, these have already done a considerable amount towards expediting locomotion in London, and have also resulted in a considerable reduction in fares, and these probably in the near future will be still further reduced.

The public should recognise that this is a comparatively new invention, and that a certain time must necessarily elapse before they can attain any considerable degree of perfection.

Meantime, it is surely to the advantage of Londoners that this industry should not be in any way harassed, but be given every opportunity of improvement.

In addition to the petrol 'bus, it is claimed by many experts, that the steam 'bus has a considerable future before it, and that steam 'buses have already, in many cases, reached such perfection that there is an entire absence of smoke, and that consequently they will in the near future be able to do much towards quickening the means of locomotion in the streets.

Appendix Dealing with the London Traffic Problem.

Owing to the importance of this subject, it has been thought advisable to deal with it in greater detail.

As to this subject, *c.f.* also pages 92 to 99 *supra*.

A Review of the Recommendations of the Royal Commission on London Traffic.

The question of coping with the tremendous traffic incidental to great cities has been one that has always occupied the minds of statesmen. Many side issues are raised when the subject is under discussion, and the more the subject is investigated, the more apparent becomes the need of dealing with the problem of locomotion on a predetermined plan. The haphazard methods of the past sorely hamper the efforts made by the present generation to solve the problem, and in a city of the magnitude of London, with its millions of population, this difficulty becomes,

on consideration, all the more apparent. All those who interest themselves in civic affairs recognise the supreme necessity for a proper solution being found, for as the years roll on the solution of the problem will inevitably be attended with still greater difficulties.

The enormous importance of the subject is conceded on all sides, and much satisfaction was caused, when on February 10th, 1903, a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the matter. The Commissioners to whom the task was entrusted were : Sir David M. Balfour (Chairman), Earl Cawdor, Viscount Cobham, Lord Ribblesdale, Sir Joseph Dimsdale, Bart., Sir John Dickson-Poynder, Bart., Sir Robert Reid (now Lord Chancellor), Sir John Wolfe-Barry (Chairman of the Advisory Board), Sir Francis Hopwood, Sir George Bartley, C. S. Murdoch, Esq., Felix Schuster, Esq. (now Sir), and George S. Gibb, Esq. (now Sir).

The scope of the Commission was plainly indicated in the orders, which were as follows :—

“ Whereas we have deemed it expedient that a Commission should forthwith issue to inquire into the means of locomotion and transport in London and to report :—

(A) As to the measures which the Commission deem most effectual for the improvement of the same by the development and inter-connexion of railways and tunnels on, or below, the surface ; by increasing the facilities for other forms of mechanical locomotion ; by better provision for the organisation and regulation of vehicular and pedestrian traffic, or otherwise.

(B) As to the desirability of establishing some authority or tribunal to which all schemes of railway or tramway construction of a local character should be referred, and the powers which it would be advisable to confer on such a body.”

For the purpose of carrying out these instructions, 112 meetings were held, and 134 witnesses examined. The Chairman, Lord Ribblesdale, Sir G. C. T. Bartley, and Sir G. S. Gibb visited the United States in September, 1903, and examined the means of locomotion and transport in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Washington. In the autumn of 1904, Sir G. C. T. Bartley visited Vienna, Buda Pesth, Prague, Cologne,

Dresden, Berlin, Brussels, and Paris, and prepared a report on their systems of urban locomotion. An Advisory Board of Engineers was appointed for the purpose of consultation, and Sir John Wolfe Wolfe-Barry, Past President of the Institution of Civil Engineers, presided over it. The services of Sir Benjamin Baker, Past President of the Institution of Civil Engineers, and Mr. W. B. Parsons, M.Inst.C.E., Chief Engineer to the Board of Rapid Transit Railroad Commissioners of the City of New York, were also secured.

Being thoroughly representative, and exceptionally qualified, the Royal Commissioners began their labours, and on June 26th, 1905, their report was issued, signed by eleven of the members. Whilst the Commission was sitting, Earl Cawdor resigned, owing to the pressure of his official duties at the Admiralty. Sir G. C. T. Bartley did not sign the report, for reasons stated in a separate report made by him. Sir J. C. Dimsdale signed the report, but added a supplementary report, on matters on which he was not in agreement with the majority of the Commissioners.

Sir G. S. Gibb signed the report, subject to a note written by him.

The Report.

The report of the Commission is divided into three parts. Part I. deals with the magnitude and importance of the problem of locomotion in London, and the fundamental difficulty in the way of improving the means of locomotion, and also gives a brief account of measures adopted in the past for facilitating locomotion.

Part II. contains information relative to the improvement of the means of locomotion and transport necessary in London, and offers recommendations as to street improvements, tramways, railways, traffic regulations and other matters.

Part III. deals with the expediency of establishing a Traffic Board, and outlines its constitution, duties, and cost. Then

follows a summary of the conclusions, and the reports of individual Commissioners who dissent wholly or partly from the majority.

The Magnitude and Importance of the Traffic Problem.

The area dealt with is that known as Greater London, comprising 693 square miles. Within this area are six administrative counties, London, Middlesex, Surrey, Kent, Essex, and Hertford. The control of municipal matters in the County of London is vested in thirty authorities (the L.C.C., the Corporations of the Cities of London and Westminster, and 27 Borough Councils). The remainder of this area is governed by 142 local authorities, ranging from County Councils to Parish Councils. The population of Greater London in 1901 amounted to 6,581,402, and it is estimated that in 1931 it will be about 11 millions.

London itself is being abandoned as a place of residence. Mr. Harper, the statistical officer of the L.C.C., divides Greater London into a large central area, a middle zone, and an outer zone, and in his evidence he showed that while the population of the central area tends to decrease, that of the outer zone increases more rapidly than that of the middle zone. This is the cause of much unavoidable travelling, and is one of the main reasons why London traffic should be taken in hand at the earliest possible moment. The convenience of the public is at stake, and if anything can be done to make life in London easier (and undoubtedly better travelling facilities would assist towards that end), it is the duty of the public authorities to render all assistance in their power. The enormous increase in the number of persons travelling can be seen from the following figures : In the year 1881, the number of passengers carried by local railways, by tramways, and by the two principal omnibus companies was 269,662,649 ; whilst the corresponding figure in 1901 was 847,212,335. The Advisory Board of Engineers estimated that for the year ending June 30th, 1904, the total number of passengers carried by local railways, omnibuses, and tramways, amounted to 1,164,000,000.

Importance of Facilitating Locomotion.

Paragraph 10 of the report says :—

“ The figures we have just given, taken in connection with the present conditions of congestion of traffic in so many of the streets of London ; the difficulties which persons residing in the suburbs experience in moving to and from their daily work ; the overcrowding of houses in the central area ; and the impossibility of housing the working classes in that area at rents which they can afford to pay, are conclusive as to the necessity of dealing with the whole problem of London locomotion on a comprehensive plan, and with as little delay as possible.”

A history of the construction of railways and street tramways in London is given, and it is shown that the absence of a fixed plan for treating London as a whole in connection with matters relative to locomotion has been responsible for the chaotic state in which London locomotion is found at the present time. The evil has also been aggravated by the “vetoes” possessed by municipal authorities. Tube railways have been constructed without full consideration of the wants of London, and the antagonism between the London County Council and private promoters has been detrimental to public interests.

Speaking at the opening of the new tube railway, which runs from Finsbury Park to Hammersmith, on December 15th, 1906, Mr. Lloyd George, (the President of the Board of Trade), said :—

“ Another feature of their new railway was the admirable spirit of co-operation which had been displayed during the past few years between those promoting these electric tubes and the great municipal authority of London. After all, we could not do without private enterprise. We could not do without municipal enterprise either. We must have both, and they might depend upon it that the success of their company in future would depend upon the wisdom with which one of these systems could assist the other, because **it was not on antagonism but on their healthy co-operation that the success of this great country depended.**”

Recommendations of the Commission.

The Commission dealt with the problem in a comprehensive manner, and the recommendations which emanated from it would, if carried out, have far-reaching effects. These recom-

mendations are issued under four separate headings :—(1) Street Improvements ; (2) Tramways ; (3) Railways ; and (4) Traffic Regulations and other matters.

Street Improvements.

The Advisory Board of Engineers made suggestions to the Commission, and their suggestions were embodied in a separate volume. They suggested that new streets and widened streets should be laid out according to a fixed standard. Five classes of streets are proposed, ranging from main avenues 140 feet wide, to fourth-class streets 40 feet wide ; but in carrying out such streets, the work should be undertaken in conformity with a carefully considered plan, which might be carried out over a long series of years. In the opinion of the Commission, the most important recommendations coming from the Advisory Board were those advocating the construction of two main avenues through London, one from west to east, to connect Bayswater Road with Whitechapel ; and the other from north to south, to connect Holloway with the Elephant and Castle. These avenues would be 140 feet wide ; they would have four lines of tramway on their surface, and four lines of railway a few feet below the surface. The financial aspect of this suggestion is dealt with by the Commissioners, and on an estimated expenditure of 30 millions, deductions are drawn as to its effects upon the municipality. By leasing or working the railways and tramways, and by “recoupment” by the purchase of adjacent land, the cost would be greatly decreased ; but, recognising the colossal nature of the proposed undertaking, the Commissioners come to the conclusion that works of less magnitude “which may be within available resources,” should not be retarded in the expectation of its early accomplishment. Amongst the other suggested street improvements are the :—

Widening of Euston and Marylebone Roads.

Widening of Constitution Hill, and the construction of a road between the Mall and Charing Cross.

Widening of Princes Street, Westminster.

Widening of Wandsworth Road (Putney to Lambeth).

Widening of Bayswater, Hammersmith, Fulham, and King's Roads.

The report points out that these are examples given for the benefit of those who will take in hand the work of dealing with London locomotion, viz., the suggested Traffic Board. The Commissioners think that all the proposals are valuable, but do not commit themselves to a final recommendation without fuller investigation.

Tramways.

The great defect in connection with London tramways is the want of through communication. "Within the County of London nearly the whole of the tramways are owned, and in a great part worked by the L.C.C., whose policy has been consistently directed to the exclusion of private promoters from within the County of London." The report goes on to state that in Greater London the tramways are largely worked by private companies, and that in no case can passengers obtain through running. In the County of London itself there are three systems, the Northern, Southern, and Western, which are not connected with each other, and consequently the systems are not so useful as they ought to be.

The Advisory Board of Engineers reported to the Commission the various directions in which the construction and operation of tramways would be beneficial and useful. In the first place they recommended the tramways on the two main avenues from north to south and east to west, already referred to, and they next advised the construction of twenty-three other systems, both surface and subway, which would link up the tramways of the L.C.C., and in some cases join the London United Tramways Co. and the Middlesex County Council Light Railways. The carrying out of these projects would bring a tramway along the Euston, Marylebone, and Edgware Roads, which would connect the eastern and western systems on the north side, and pass close by five of the principal railway termini in London. The north and south would be connected by two lines outside the City; four lines from the west would penetrate

to the central area, and thence be continued to the eastern districts; and tramways would cross the Thames over Westminster and Blackfriars Bridges, which would be united by a line along the Thames Embankment.

These proposals are criticised in regard to the length (about seven miles) of subways involved, and the financial aspect thereof, but the following recommendation is made by the Commissioners :—

“ We recommend :—

“ A large extension of tramways in London and the suburbs; that immediate attention be given to providing through communication between the different tramway systems within the administrative County of London; across the Thames by the Westminster and Blackfriars Bridges; and that provision be made for through running inside and outside the administrative County of London.”

In dealing with the administration of the L.C.C. tramways, the report says :—

“ So far as the question involves considerations of municipal trading, we do not think it is within our province to express an opinion. We think it reasonable that some profit should be derived from the tramways for the benefit of the municipality, but it does not follow that the best way of securing the largest profit will be that the municipality, even if it finds the money for construction, should undertake the task of operating. . . . **If the tramways are operated by the municipalities concerned, we think that they should be worked on sound financial principles, with ample provision for depreciation, and repayment of capital or discharge of debt. . . .** The matter is one of such importance that, having regard to the conflicting views that have been laid before us, we strongly recommend that the whole question of the expediency of the working of large tramway systems by municipalities be specially investigated.”

The development of tramways has been largely checked through the local and road authorities possessing the right of veto. The Commissioners consider that “ the best course is to abolish the ‘ veto ’ in all cases, but to provide that, in Greater London, the County Councils, and the Corporation of the City of London, should have a preferential right to construct any tramways within their districts, if they are prepared to do so.” They considered “ that instead of a ‘ veto,’ it would be sufficient

that local and road authorities should have a *locus standi* to appear before the proposed Traffic Board and Parliament in opposition to any tramway scheme within their districts."

Railways.

The Commissioners think that when the "tube" railways, already authorised, have been completed, with the addition of a line from Victoria to Marble Arch, the most pressing requirements of railway communication within the central area will have been provided for. There is, however, a necessity for further north-east, and east and west railway facilities. The marked feature in connection with underground railways is the difficulty experienced in raising the necessary capital, mainly owing to the moderate pecuniary returns, "but notwithstanding the difficulties imposed by high cost of construction (£500,000 to £1,000,000 per mile) we think—and this applies to railways beyond as well as within the central area—that, **as in the past, so in the future, London should, as far as possible, rely wholly upon private enterprise for the construction of new railways.**"

The importance of not imposing undue burdens upon, or exacting impossible conditions from, private promoters is insisted upon. In a summary of conclusions arrived at, the report states:—

"In regard to railways, their further development must be governed by the features of the existing and authorised systems, which should be extended and improved: we have suggested various extensions and improvements.

"It is important that all possible facilities should be afforded to suburban passengers arriving at the terminal stations to reach their destinations throughout the central area by railway, either by means of through trains, or by interchange within the stations to which the suburban trains may run.

"In the more crowded parts of London, where property is expensive, railways must be placed underground. Railways in shallow subways are preferable to 'tube' railways, where the cost is not prohibitive, or where other considerations do not render them impracticable. We desire to draw special attention to the importance that urban railways, traversing London from side to side, on routes where there is a heavy traffic, should have four lines of way, in order to provide a separate service for

fast and for stopping trains, and thus admit, by means of a few interchange stations, of rapid transit to the suburbs from all the stations on the local service lines.

“Owing to the high capital cost of ‘tube’ railways, constructed under present conditions, there is a difficulty in providing a sufficient number of such railways to distribute population over the outlying districts, but we are advised that it is possible to construct a cheaper type of deep-level railway adapted for suburban traffic, with fewer and less expensive stations, and rising to the surface when the open country is reached. Such railways would help to solve the ‘housing problem’ by carrying the population to districts not yet built over.

“If private enterprise will not construct the necessary railways, the local authorities might be authorised to give assistance in view of the fact that re-housing within the central area involves a heavy loss to the rates, and that it may be cheaper, and will be better in other respects, to help in making healthier residences in the suburbs accessible. Assistance might be afforded, either by remission of rates, or by direct contribution, according to the precedent of the Light Railways Act, 1896, and the recommendations of the Joint Committee of 1901 on London Underground Railways.

“In cases where railways exist, but additional train services are required to open up new districts for building, and railway companies decline, and cannot, under the existing law, be compelled, to put on additional trains, local authorities might be empowered, if the necessity is urgent, to guarantee, for a limited period, such net receipts per train mile, for the proposed trains, as may be reasonable.

“In cases where a new railway is proposed to be made, which would have the effect of opening out a district for building purposes, we think that a railway company might be authorised to purchase, under proper safeguards, land likely to be increased in value by the construction of the railway, by means of voluntary agreement with the owner of such land.”

The Appointment of a Traffic Board.

Perhaps the most important recommendation of the Commission is that a Traffic Board be created, to control measures affecting locomotion and transport in London. It was felt that it would be impossible to confer the necessary powers, with jurisdiction over the whole of Greater London, on the London County Council or any other existing local authority or body. The establishment of a central body is advocated, and as it is

impossible to have upon it the representatives of all the authorities in Greater London, it is recommended that the members of the Board, including the chairman, should be appointed by the Government. Amongst the duties and powers suggested to be taken over by the Board are the following :—

It should make a yearly report to Parliament on locomotion, transport, and traffic in Greater London; examine private Bills, report thereon for the information of Parliament, and make suggestions for the improvement of such Bills, and settle clauses for the protection of public or private interests. The Board should also prepare schemes, investigate certain problems, and make bye-laws and regulations, and in many other ways promote the provision of better locomotion. Some important questions on which the Board might be required to report are the improvement of the main roads leading out of London, the building laws in Greater London, the breaking-up of streets, and the consolidation and amendment of the laws affecting traffic.

It should keep in touch with all the local and other authorities in "Greater London," and maintain a friendly attitude towards them and towards all companies and persons that work railways, tramways, or other means for facilitating locomotion and transport, in and around London, using its influence in the direction of conciliation; encourage and assist all attempts at co-operative action; and be ready to act as arbitrator in cases of disagreement between the public authorities, private companies and other persons above referred to. It should be given such a staff as experience may show to be necessary for the proper discharge of its duties.

It is suggested that the Board should consist of a chairman, and not more than four nor less than two other members; preferably not more than three in all. The really essential point about the members is that they should be capable men of business, energetic, impartial, and able to devote, if necessary, their whole time to the work of the Board.

Progressive Opposition to the carrying out of the Recommendations of the Commission.

The establishment of a Traffic Board for London on the lines laid down by the Royal Commission would prove of incalculable value to the inhabitants of the Metropolis. The question of London locomotion has been a burning one for many years, and those who were interested in the welfare of London anticipated that a permanent and satisfactory solution would result from the task undertaken by the Commission. As a matter of fact, these persons found that their anticipations were more than realised. The suggested Traffic Board met with the approval of all those who wished to see an improvement in the lot of the inhabitants of London and of all those who desired to see such improvements carried out as would place the chief city of the British Empire in its rightful position when compared with the rest of the great cities of the world.

To the appointment of a Board such as is recommended by the Commission, considerable opposition exists. There are those who at present direct, to a great extent, the government of London, who place Party advantage before the welfare of the people. The report of the Royal Commission struck a heavy blow at the Progressive party—a party which, for years, has been scheming to get the entire control of London government into the hands of one body, namely, the London County Council. To satisfy its ambition the Progressive party has sought to secure the control of travelling facilities in order to prevent competition with its limited service of trams. That party seeks to become the Traffic Authority for London. The report of the Royal Commission tears to shreds the Progressive policy, and it is because of the attitude adopted by the Commission that the Progressives view with hostility the creation of a Traffic Board such as the one that has been outlined.

In view of the attitude adopted by the Progressives, it is incumbent on those who, first and foremost, seek the welfare of London and its inhabitants, to put before the people of London the injury which would inevitably fall upon them if the Progressive policy were to prevail.

Its Bearing on the Unemployed.

During recent years one of the most difficult problems confronting British statesmen has been that connected with the unemployment that has been prevalent in this country, and particularly in London. One of the most pitiful spectacles to be seen in London is an unemployed "procession." Undoubtedly amongst the "out-of-works" are some who are "professional," but many are genuine workmen. Outside all this public display of distress, there are thousands of others, who decline to parade their poverty before the eyes of their fellows, and who, rather than exhibit to the world the straits to which they are reduced, suffer in silence, a suffering in which are often included starving wives and children. The late Unionist Government recognised the genuine nature of the trouble, and in order to mitigate the evil passed the Unemployed Workmen's Act, 1905. £200,000 is to be granted from the national funds during the current year, thousands of pounds were raised during the winter of 1905 by public subscription, and municipal authorities readily voted sums of money for the purpose of carrying out work on which the "out-of-works" could be employed. In the face of this unemployment, one would have supposed that whenever anything of a practical nature was suggested, those who had the local government of London in their control would have grasped it at once. But not so in London. It is well known that five or six years ago there were numerous schemes brought forward for the provision of electric railways and cheap electric power in and around London. Many millions of pounds would have been invested in these undertakings, **and vast numbers of workmen would have been kept in steady employment for years had they been carried out.** These schemes were hung up. The question of a Royal Commission on London Traffic was in the air, and when it was appointed Parliament refused to sanction any schemes until the report of that Commission was issued. The report is now issued. The people of London know the recommendations. They are grand in their conception. Railways and tramways radiating in every direction, street improvements on a very large scale, a vast impetus given to all the

trades connected with building—surely these provide a solution of much of the unemployed problem in London. The non-ability to obtain work on the part of genuine working men would be diminished to a large extent if the Progressive party now in power at Spring Gardens forced upon the notice of the Government the enormous advantages that would accrue to the working men of London if the recommendations of the Royal Commission were to be adopted and the Traffic Board became an accomplished fact. In 1905 the number of people making fresh applications to the eleven Borough Council Labour Bureaux in London, and the Salvation Army Labour Bureau for employment, amounted to 50,461. Of these, work was found for 18,573. Surely it is not too much to suppose that steady work would be found for a much larger number if the Traffic Board was constituted and its projected works were put in hand. Who then blocks the way? Surely the Progressive party will not have the audacity during the forthcoming election to again pose as the “Friend of the Working Man.” The working man, who wants honest work and not municipal charity in the shape of work that is made simply for the sake of providing employment, must support the party that is pledged to assist in forming the Traffic Board, and expel from office the party which, for the sake of serving its own selfish ends, is willing to sink the welfare of London, and to leave the unemployed in their present state of misery.

Its Relation to Housing.

The Royal Commission found that a large proportion of workers in the overcrowded parts of London do not need to live near their work, and that where facilities for locomotion have been afforded the people take advantage of them and live outside London. This is illustrated by the increase in population in towns such as Edmonton, Walthamstow, and Leyton. It is not expected that railway companies will construct lines where there is not a sufficient population to make the undertaking pay, but the Commission suggests that “where a new railway is proposed to be made, which would have the effect of opening out a

district for building purposes, a railway company might be authorised to purchase, under proper safeguards, land likely to be increased in value by the construction of the railway, by means of voluntary agreement with the owner of such land."

"Many places suitable for building are not accessible by railway," and the report goes on to say that "there has been a great aggregation of the working classes in those districts which have been opened out, especially in the east and north-east of London, where the Great Eastern Railway Company have done much to supply means of cheap transit."

The question of locomotion is closely bound up with the question of "housing," and there is scarcely any subject of greater importance to the poorer people of London than that of "housing." On it depend health, comfort, and the remedying of that "over-crowding" which is one of the chief curses of London. The Londoner who lives in a tenement, or in one to two rooms, will never be able to appreciate the comforts of home life until he is in a position to have a house to himself. Such a luxury can only be obtained for him by opening out the country surrounding London by a network of different kinds of locomotion such as is suggested by the Royal Commission. The following paragraph on page 15 of the report is deserving of attention :—

"With the rapid growth of a large population, the requirements of urban life—streets, drainage, lighting, &c.—have also rapidly grown, while the presence of so many houses of comparatively low rental has discouraged the construction of better-class houses. For example, in Walthamstow, out of 18,600 houses, 15,000 are assessed at less than £16 a year. This explains why, in certain of these districts, the rates are so high. The poorer people are limited in their choice of residence; they crowd to places where they can get facilities for locomotion; hence the rateable value of such districts is low, and the rate in the pound high in proportion."

The limitation of means of communication is thus shown to result in the aggregation of working people in fixed districts, and as a consequence high rates.

For the year ending March 31st, 1905, the L.C.C. had provided for the people of London 5,929 tenements, comprising 15,096 rooms, *i.e.*, on an average less than three rooms per tenement. The average rent charged for these is 2s. 11d. per room. Private enterprise has provided 12,641 tenements,

comprising 113,147 rooms, at an average rental of 2s. 4d. per room.

The housing and re-housing in the Metropolis as undertaken by the L.C.C. cannot be done without a charge on the rates. The following extract from the report of the Commission shows how the housing figures are at present manipulated, and gives an insight into the futility of attempting to solve the housing problem in London itself.

“ In connection with certain street improvements, especially the formation of the new street from Holborn to the Strand now in course of completion, the Council was required, under the authorising Act, to build workmen’s dwellings in place of those that were demolished. For this purpose they bought the Bourne Estate, close to the site of the improvement. The cost price was £201,107, being the commercial value. They were obliged to write this sum down to £44,000, its value earmarked for artisans’ housing, and to debit the balance to the cost of street improvements. This was necessary in order to admit of charging rents within the means of the families to be provided for. Even after this writing down, they have had to charge rents of from 9s. 6d. to 11s. a week, for a three-roomed tenement, in order to reimburse themselves for this artificially-reduced outlay. The buildings erected will accommodate 2,640 persons, and there is therefore **a loss of very nearly £60 per head of the persons re-housed,** and the whole of this loss falls upon the rates.”

Delay, then, in the matter of dealing with London traffic means additional burdens for the poor. The man who is cooped up in London in a gigantic building closely resembling a work-house, must, surely, sometimes long for a cottage in the country, and a small garden. The terrible overcrowding so prevalent in this great city, and so largely responsible for the crime, immorality, and disease within it, would be to a considerable extent remedied if decent housing were provided in outlying districts, served by efficient means of transit. In 1901 (according to page 157 of London Statistics, Vol. 16), 16 per cent. of the population of London were living in overcrowded tenements, the percentage aggregating as high as 33.2 in Stepney and 35.2 in Finsbury. Despite this, and despite the extraordinary promises usually displayed towards the poor by the Progressives, they steadfastly refuse to take the steps necessary to put into force the recommendations brought forward by the Royal Commission.

Its Bearing on Trade.

The benefits that would accrue to London as a commercial city if such improvements were to be made in the means of locomotion within its borders, are too self-evident to require emphasising. The delays caused by congestion of traffic would be remedied, if not eradicated, and commercial enterprises would benefit largely from the financial saving consequent upon the saving in time resulting from improvements in locomotion. To the business man, an improvement in London locomotion is yearly becoming more necessary.

Conclusions.

The report of the Royal Commission evoked much interest, though probably owing to the complexity of the subject not so much as it should have done. The enormous issues involved attracted considerable attention, and the suggestions embodied in the report were received, for the most part, with general approval. It is generally conceded that there must be a Traffic Board for London, and **the Progressives, actuated solely by a "dog-in-the-manger" policy, deny London the advantages which the establishment of such a body would confer upon them, simply because the L.C.C. is not the authority recommended for London traffic.**

When the people of London thoroughly grasp the consequences resulting from the action of the Progressives, they will see how essential it is in their own interests that that party should be deprived of its present majority on the L.C.C.

Among these consequences may be reckoned the fact that a large amount of work is withheld from London; improved housing for the overcrowded poor and the working classes seriously impeded; and that as a further consequence the health of the poorer classes is detrimentally affected.

As contrasted with the policy of the Progressive party, the policy of the Municipal Reform party—as set out in the Manifesto dated December 4th, 1906—is :—

“To improve the means of locomotion and transport in London and its suburbs. With this object, they will urge the immediate appointment of a Traffic Board, as recommended by

the Royal Commission, in order that there may be a regular and systematic examination and control of municipal and private schemes, leading to the gradual adoption of an harmonious plan of traffic for the entire area of Greater London."

In the face of these two policies, regarding one of the most important of London's questions at the present time, can any thinking man or woman have any doubt as to which party his interests inevitably cause him to support?

EDUCATION.

NOTE.—It has not been thought necessary to deal here with what is known as the religious difficulty, owing to the fact that this subject has already been so frequently dealt with in current pamphlets, and students of L.C.C. policy are already fully acquainted with this subject.

Secondary and Technical Education are not dealt with here. These matters are largely non-controversial, and the attitude of the Moderates has, in a word, been to secure for London the best possible advantages of this nature at a fair and reasonable cost.

The Municipal Reform Party and Education.

The following statement of policy in regard to the subject of Education is taken from the Municipal Reform Party's Manifesto, dated December 4th, 1906.

“The Education Acts and Religious Teaching.

“No graver issue is involved in this election than that which will determine for the next three years in what manner the Education Acts shall be administered, and what kind of religious teaching (if any) shall be given to London's children.

“The Progressive policy is dominated by three ideas, viz., hostility to Voluntary schools where definite denominational religion is taught, involving the needless closing of many schools and unnecessary additions to the rates; secret administration, with doors closed to the Press; and Central Officialdom, destructive of local effort and sympathy.

“The policy of the Municipal Reformers will be directed, on the other hand, to secure open public administration of the Education Acts, encouragement to local managers who have

both knowledge and desire to promote educational efficiency, by delegating to them work which they can well do without interfering with a proper central control of the educational machine. And, above and beyond all, in administering the Act of 1903, or any other Act entrusted to them, they will be guided by the following cardinal principles :—

“ Fair play to all schools, whatever religious teaching may be given in them, provided they are otherwise efficient. Equal treatment of all teachers, *i.e.*, equal salaries for equal qualifications and equal services, wherever found. Encouragement of such religious teaching as is desired by the parents, whenever practicable, and encouragement to the teacher to give such teaching. For it is the firm belief of the Municipal Reformers that character must be based upon religion, and that this must be given a prominent place in the regular school life of the child.”

The Education (London) Act, 1903, gave to the Metropolis the undoubted educational advantages conferred upon the remainder of England and Wales by the Education Act of 1902. The new Act came into force on May 1st, 1904, and after that time the London School Board ceased to exist, and the London County Council became the single Central Authority charged with supervising and co-ordinating education of all classes, from the kindergarten to the college.

Broken Progressive Pledges.

Between the passing of the Act of 1903 and its coming into force, a fresh election of members to the London County Council took place in March, 1904. Supporters of the Voluntary, or, as they are now called, “ Non-provided ” Schools, took steps to secure pledges from the candidates with a view to securing fair treatment at the hands of the new Council for the Non-provided Schools.

Out of 118 members elected to the new Council in 1904, 97 had pledged themselves in this direction, and the electors were assured by Progressive leaders that the Non-provided Schools would be rightly treated. Amongst others, Mr. McKinnon Wood, the leader of the Radical Progressive Party on the Council, laid down the official programme of that party with regard to the administration of the Education Act. He is reported in *The Times* of December 22nd, 1903, as having

spoken as follows :—"What they could do, what they would do, was to administer it (*i.e.*, the Education Act) in a progressive spirit, free from sectarian bias, impartially in the public interest, in the interest of education and of the children."

The Bishop of Stepney, writing to *The Times* on March 3rd, 1904, dealt with the candidates for the then impending L.C.C. elections, and stated that pledges had been demanded from all the candidates with a view to the administration of the Education Act in a spirit of justice and impartiality to all classes of schools. The Bishop wrote :—"Section A contains the names of those candidates who have given a favourable answer to the official questions drawn up by my committee. It will be noticed that all the Conservative candidates and the great majority of Progressives are in favour of the adoption and fair administration of the Act. Whatever the results of the election may be from a party point of view, an overwhelming majority of the new Council will be committed by specific pledges to follow this policy."

In "Section A," to which the Bishop of Stepney referred as containing the names of those who would support the claims of Voluntary Schools, were the following Progressive candidates, amongst others :—

Battersea.—The Right Hon. John Burns, M.P., W. Davies.

Bermondsey.—A. A. Allen, Dr. G. J. Cooper.

Bethnal Green, North-East.—Sir E. A. Cornwall, Edward Smith.

Bethnal Green, South-West.—J. Branch, T. Wiles.

Bow and Bromley.—W. W. Bruce, B. Cooper.

Brixton.—F. Dolman, L. Sharp.

Camberwell, North.—R. A. Bray, H. R. Taylor.

Chelsea.—E. J. Horniman, J. Jeffrey.

The City.—F. W. Buxton.

Clapham.—J. G. Kipling.

Deptford.—R. C. Phillimore, Sydney Webb.

Dulwich.—G. A. Hardy.

Finsbury, East.—J. A. Baker, T. E. Harvey.

Greenwich.—R. S. Jackson, F. Warmington.

Hackney, North.—G. Lampard, J. E. Sears.

Hackney, Central.—A. J. Shepheard, T. McKinnon Wood.

Hackney, South.—E. Browne, A. Smith.

Haggerston.—Lord Monkswell, J. Stuart.

Hammersmith.—J. G. Ritchie, F. Whelen.

Holborn.—Aubrey Goodes.

Hoxton.—H. Ward, Graham Wallas.

Islington, North.—T. B. Napier.

Islington, South.—S. Lambert.

Islington, East.—A. A. Thomas, Sir A. M. Torrance.

Kennington.—Sir J. W. Benn, Stephen Collins.

Kensington, North.—H. L. Jephson, W. Pope.

Lambeth, North.—W. Wightman, J. Clarke, W. E. Clery.

Lewisham.—J. W. Cleland, Hon. A. L. Stanley.

Limehouse.—A. L. Leon.

Marylebone, West.—W. Sands.

Mile End.—B. S. Straus, G. J. Warren.

Newington, West.—J. D. Gilbert, J. Piggot.

Paddington, North.—H. H. Turner.

Paddington, South.—J. Kennedy, D. V. Owen.

Peckham.—G. Goddard Clarke, F. W. Verney.

Poplar.—W. Crooks, M.P., Sir J. McDougall.

Rotherhithe.—Rev. W. F. Brown, A. Pomeroy.

St. George's-in-the-East.—H. Gosling, J. Smith.

St. Pancras, North.—Dr. Beaton, D. S. Waterlow.

St. Pancras, South.—Sir W. Geary, G. Bernard Shaw.

Southwark, West.—E. Bayley, T. Hunter.

Stepney.—Harold Spender, W. C. Steadman.

Strand.—J. S. Hyder, Rev. A. W. Oxford.

Walworth.—Rev. A. W. Jephson, R. Spokes.

Wandsworth.—R. Tweedie-Smith, E. Pascoe Williams.

In spite, however, of the pledges given to the Bishop of Stepney's Electoral Committee, many of the gentlemen whose names appear in this list have lost no opportunity of injuring the Non-provided Schools in London.

After the 1904 elections, the attitude of the Progressives was no longer disguised. The Progressive London County Council has been from the date of its election to the present time an engine of malignant injury to Voluntary Schools.

Under the Act, the L.C.C. had the power to co-opt expert educationists who were not members of the L.C.C. The Committee consisted of 48 members; of these 38 were members of the L.C.C., five of the others were women, in accordance with the provisions under the Act of Parliament, and only five of them were drawn from outside. Their attitude towards the Managers of schools was repressive; in fact, the Progressives throughout never intended to give the Act of 1903 a fair chance.

If they had taken the opportunity which the Act of Parliament gave them of allowing Managers power to deal with detail matters, they would have saved the Committee and Sub-Committees from a vast amount of detail work. They declined to allow groups of Managers in the Boroughs to do anything. In fact, the L.C.C. in effect said, "If any Managers of two or three schools in any Borough desire to work together, we will prevent them." If they had allowed these Managers to work together, they would have obtained increased experience from their knowledge of the different schools of the Borough—they would have been able to improve themselves from an educational point of view, and many energetic Managers could have qualified for positions on the Central Authority. They did not desire that, however, and consequently gave the Managers of groups of schools as little power as possible. That is a point which should appeal to those who know anything about education in London.

Just as they would not trust outside educationists, so they did not even trust their own Committee, but contented themselves with giving to it a minimum of delegated powers. The result has been that the work of education has been blocked for the last three years by the discussion in the Council of petty details which should properly have been dealt with in Committee.

However, presumably in view of the approaching elections, the Progressives have in the last few weeks made a new move, and now purpose giving much fuller powers to the Education Committee. Curiously enough, too, the Committee, which up to the present has worked in secret, is now to have its doors opened to the Press and public.

Treatment of the Voluntary School Teachers.

The first question was that of teachers' salaries. The L.C.C. decided they would have a new scale of teachers' salaries, and of course the number of teachers in the Provided Schools is much larger than of those in the Non-provided Schools. When they went to work to revise the teachers' salaries throughout London, the Board School teachers got the advantage. The L.C.C. professed to equalise the salaries, but the teachers in the Voluntary Schools were not treated with the equality which they had a right to expect. A Birmingham teacher coming to a London School was often treated in a better way than the London Voluntary School teacher.

On account of shortness of funds, it is true that the teachers in Voluntary Schools were working at low salaries. All honour to them! What they were *receiving* was taken as the basis, and not what they were *worth*. They were working for a great deal less than their qualifications entitled them to. If they had been treated as outside teachers, they would have come in at very much better salaries than under the scale which was applied to them. Teachers who had been working at £30, £40, or £50 a year in the old Voluntary Schools, instead of their salaries being increased to £90, £100, or £110, like teachers from Birmingham with the same qualifications, were told, "You have been working for £30, or whatever the sum might be; we will raise you £10, and you ought to be very thankful." They were raised £10, and then told that they could go on until they got up to the salary standard of a London Board School teacher. The Birmingham teachers were denominational teachers all the same, but they came in at a different salary from those who had been working amid the heat and burden of London.

Starving Out the Non-Provided Schools.

The Progressives manifested their hostility to the Voluntary Schools immediately on election.

The next move was to abolish the fees in 179 schools, against the wish of both the parents and the Managers. In

this way some £26,000 a year was lost, part to the schools, and part to the ratepayers. Seeing that the Managers looked to this fund for the part maintenance of their fabric, the injury was a grave one.

A heavier weapon of attack was found in the clause of the new Act, in which the Managers were obliged at their own cost to keep the school-house in good repair, and to make such alterations and improvements as may be reasonably required by the Local Education Authority.

The Progressives defined the word "reasonable" by fixing an oppressively high standard of requirements, and by condemning the schools that failed to pass the test.

In November, 1904, the Architect to the L.C.C. issued the first instalment of his report. It related to 29 Voluntary Schools. The report dealt with repairs and alterations which were said to be urgent. Some of the repairs related to sanitary matters, and delay in putting them right would jeopardise the health of the scholars. This fact had no weight, however, with the Progressives, and Mr. McKinnon Wood, their leader, secured the sending back of the report to the Committee. His desire was to wait for the complete report on the whole of the 438 schools. And this was done.

He wished to present to the ratepayers what he described as "one great picture" of the condition of the Voluntary Schools.

The result of these tactics was that the complete report was not issued until May 30th, 1905. Of 438 schools inspected, 92 were condemned, 21 were stated to be partially unsuitable, and 261 were alleged to require slight alterations. Were the alleged unsuitable schools to be closed, accommodation would have had to be provided for 68,824 children at a capital cost of nearly one million and a half, and at an annual expense to the ratepayers of London of £224,000 a year.

Cowper-Temple Teaching alone to be endowed.

In the Council on May 22nd, 1906, the following Recommendation :—“(a) That the principle of the Education (England

and Wales) Bill, 1906, so far as that principle provides for the public control of public money and for the freeing of teachers in all Public Elementary Schools from creed tests, be approved," was moved.

To this Mr. Bray (P.), seconded by Mr. Sidney Webb (P.), moved the following Amendment :—That the following words be inserted after the first word "That" in line 1—"in the opinion of the Council it is inequitable to provide at the expense of public funds for the giving of one particular form of religious instruction, but that," or, in other words, that it was unjust that Cowper-Temple religious teaching alone should be endowed out of the rates.

The Amendment was put to the vote. The Council having divided, there voted :—

FOR THE AMENDMENT—42.

Anstruther, H. T.	..	..	(M)	Alderman.	
Bailey, W.	..	..	..	Marylebone, West.	7
Barnes, E.	..	..	..	St. Pancras, East.	7
Beachcroft, Sir R. Melvill	..	..	..	Paddington, North.	7
Bell, Sir William J.	..	..	..	Alderman.	1
Bliss, Sir H. W.	..	..	..	Holborn.	
Brandon, Jocelyn	..	..	..	Hammersmith.	-
Bray, R. (<i>Teller</i>)	..	..	(P)	Camberwell, North.	
Chambers, F.	..	..	..	Woolwich.	
Cobb, C. S.	..	..	(M)	Fulham.	
Collins, E.	..	..	..	Hammersmith.	
Colville, Lt.-Col. C. F.	..	..	..	Kensington, South.	7
Cooper, B.	..	..	(P)	Bow and Bromley.	-
Elcho, Lord	..	..	(M)	Strand.	1
Forman, E. B.	..	..	..	Alderman.	1
Gaskell, T. P.	..	..	..	Clapham.	
Gastrell, Major W. Houghton	..	..	..	St. Pancras, South.	
Glanville, H. J.	..	..	(P)	Rotherhithe.	
Gordon, H. H.	..	..	(Independent)	Whitechapel.	
Greenwood, H. J.	..	..	(M)	St. George's, Hanover Square.	
Hanhart, N.	..	..	..	Hampstead.	
Harben, H. A.	..	..	..	Paddington, South.	

Harris, H. P.	..	..	(M)	Paddington, South.
Harvey, T. E.	..	..	(P)	Finsbury, East.
Hunt, W.	..	..	(M)	Wandsworth.
Jesson, C.	..	..	(P)	Walworth.
Johnson, W. C.	..	..	„	Whitechapel.
Jones, Rev. L. J.	..	..	„	Woolwich.
Lancaster, W. J.	..	..	(M)	Wandsworth.
Leigh, Lord	..	..	„	St. George's, Hanover Square.
Leon, A. L.	..	..	(P)	Limehouse.
Probyn, Lt.-Col. C.	..	..	(M)	Strand.
Robinson, R. A.	..	..	„	Kensington, South.
Rotton, [#] Lt.-Col. A.	..	..	„	Clapham.
Salter, Dr. A.	..	..	(P)	Bermondsey.
Sankey, Stuart	..	..	(M)	City of London.
Sturge, C. Y...	..	..	„	Westminster.
Taylor, H. R.	..	..	(P)	Camberwell, North.
Taylor, John T.	..	..	(M)	Hampstead.
Thompson, W. W.	..	..	„	Alderman.
Webb, Sidney (<i>Teller</i>)	..	..	(P)	Deptford.
Williams, Jabez	..	..	(M)	Lambeth, North.

AGAINST THE AMENDMENT—52.

Allen, A. A.	..	..	(P)	Bermondsey.
Bayley, E.	..	..	„	West Southwark.
Beaton, Dr. R. M.	..	..	„	St. Pancras, North.
Branch, J.	..	..	„	Bethnal Green, South-West.
Briant, F.	..	..	„	Lambeth, North.
Browne, E.	..	..	„	Hackney, South.
Bruce, W. W.	..	..	„	Bow and Bromley.
Buxton, A. F.	..	..	(M)	Alderman.
Clarke, C. Goddard	..	..	(P)	Peckham.
Cleland, J. W.	..	..	„	Lewisham.
Davies, W.	..	..	„	Battersea.
Dawes, J. A.	..	..	„	Walworth.
Dickinson, W. H.	..	..	„	Alderman.
Gautrey, T.	..	..	„	Dulwich.
Gilbert, J. D. (<i>Teller</i>)	..	..	„	West Newington.
Goodman, W.	..	..	„	Islington, West.

Hardy, G. A.	..	..	(P)	Dulwich.
Hemphill, Capt.	the	Hon.		
Fitzroy	..	..	„	Finsbury, Central.
Hubbard, N. W.	..	..	„	Norwood.
Hunter, T.	..	..	„	West Southwark.
Jeffery, J.	..	..	„	Chelsea.
Jephson, H.	..	..	„	Kensington, North.
Lampard, G.	..	..	„	Hackney, North.
McDougall, Sir John		..	„	Poplar.
Mowatt, Sir Francis	..	..	„	Alderman.
Mullins, W. E.	..	..	„	Alderman.
Parkinson, W. C.	..	..	„	Islington, North.
Pomeroy, A.	..	..	„	Rotherhithe.
Pope, W.	..	..	„	Kensington, North.
Radford, G. H.	..	..	„	Islington, West.
Russell, Arthur B.	..	..	„	Finsbury, Central.
Sears, J. E.	..	..	„	Hackney, North.
Sharp, L.	..	..	„	Brixton.
Shepherd, A. J.	..	..	„	Hackney, Central.
Shrubsall, G.	..	..	„	Norwood.
Smith, Alfred	..	..	„	Hackney, South.
Smith, Edward	..	..	„	Bethnal Green, North-East.
Smith, J.	..	..	„	St. George's-in-the-East.
Strong, R.	..	..	„	Alderman.
Thomas, A. A.	..	..	„	Islington, East.
Torrance, Sir A. M.	..	..	„	Islington, East.
Verney, F. W.	..	..	„	Peckham.
Ward, H.	..	..	„	Hoxton.
Warmington, F. W.		..	„	Greenwich.
Waterlow, D. S.	..	..	„	St. Pancras, North.
Welby, Lord	..	..	„	Alderman.
West, Rt. Hon. Sir Algernon E.		„		Alderman.
White, E.	..	..	(M)	Alderman.
Wiles, T. (<i>Teller</i>)	..	..	(P)	Bethnal Green, South-West.
Williams, Howell J.		..	„	Islington, South.
Wood, T. McKinnon		..	„	Hackney, Central.
Yates, W. B.	..	..	„	Alderman.

The Amendment was declared to be lost.

Non-Provided Teaching v. L.C.C. Teaching.

There is one portion of the report which came as a surprise to the Progressives. It deals with the character of the education given in the Voluntary Schools. The report states: "The Inspectors, who have been engaged upon the survey of Non-provided Schools, have without exception been much impressed by the teaching given in them. . . . In a large number of schools, teachers of very low qualifications appear to possess in a remarkable degree the power of imparting information very successfully . . . in spite, however, of the unsatisfactory conditions in which the majority of the teachers have been working, the teaching was reported as being 'unsatisfactory' in only 9 per cent. of the schools."

The same satisfactory verdict cannot, it seems, be given with regard to the L.C.C. Schools. Mr. Tom John, the President of the National Union of Teachers, writing in the *Schoolmaster* for March, 1906, said:—"London service was once the pride and prize of the profession. Three out of four young teachers sought service in London in the first place, and only retired to the provinces when they failed to secure appointments in London or when they were promoted to provincial headships from London assistant-teacherships. But what do we find now? Class after class taught by teachers not on the permanent staff, many the failures of the profession, men who have drifted to London from all parts of the world, many who cannot teach, many who cannot maintain order, some who are undesirable acquaintances, and all only employed because none better can be obtained under the present conditions of service. London must change its conditions, or it will become the sink of incapability. The degradation of the London service began in the last days of the old School Board, and has increased under the rule of the London County Council." The causes of the falling off are, says Mr. John, to be found in "the harassing of the inspectors, the interference of officials, the unsympathetic attitude of the Education Committee, and, when the cost of living is considered, the comparatively poor salaries paid to the teachers."

This line of objection to L.C.C. methods is confirmed by Canon Jephson, a Progressive who resigned his seat on the Council for Walworth as a protest, shortly after May, 1906. In a letter to Mr. Gilbert, dated April 30th, 1906, Canon Jephson summarised his objections as follows* :—

(1) The destruction of sympathetic management of the schools, and the substitution of mechanical and official control.

(2) The domination of the officials on the Council.

(3) The interference of the Finance Committee in educational matters not bearing on Finance.

The “British Weekly’s” Condemnation of the Progressive Party.

The British Weekly, one of the leading Nonconformist organs, in an article on September 27th, 1906,† says :—“ Mr. Silvester Horne in the *British Congregationalist* says that a strong and disquieting rumour is about to the effect that the London Education Authority has decided to levy the rate as before for denominational teaching. He utters a timely note of warning as to the consequences of such a suicidal policy.

The majority in the London County Council have profoundly disappointed those who sent them into power by their policy on the Education question. They have shrouded their proceedings in secrecy so far as they could, and what has emerged into notice has been, as a rule, disappointing.

What aggravates the indignation is that some well-known Nonconformists have been largely responsible for the proceedings. The majority have also preferred to retain the administration of the Education Act in their own hands, although it is obvious to all who know the situation that the vast task of supervising the education of London ought to be in the hands of a body delegated for the purpose. **As things are, we are under the rule of a bureaucracy.** Mr. Silvester Horne points out that if the denominational rate is levied by the Progressives they will be wrecked at the next election. ‘Nonconformists

* For Canon Jephson’s letters cf. “London Municipal Notes,” May, 1906, pages 508—511.

† NOTE.—This article was written prior to the House of Lords’ decision on December 21st, 1906, reversing the decision of the Court of Appeal in the West Riding case.

were never more tremendously in earnest. Years of humiliation have not reconciled them to the new Church rate ; and no argument or ignominy has convinced them either of its justice or its wisdom. It is now certain that hundreds of thousands of pounds have been exacted from the ratepayers without sanction of law. Scores of good men and women have been sent to prison for observing the letter of the law. It may be impossible, as they now tell us, to claim compensation, but at least we are agreed that the shame and misery of the situation must cease.' **It has for some time been our conviction that the Progressives in the London County Council have been too long in power. Their policy has been of late tyrannical, extravagant, and illiberal in the highest degree. We should view with the utmost satisfaction their complete defeat.** We know that many of our readers take a different view ; but if this last outrage proceeds, they too will be convinced, and the men who have betrayed the first principles of Nonconformity and of Liberalism will be driven out of public life."

In a further article on November 8th, 1906, entitled, " Nothing is here for Tears," *The British Weekly* stated :—

" . . . No one will deny that the Council never stood so low as it stands to-day in the general opinion.

" . . . We are very sorry to write harshly about men who at one time did splendid service. When it is plain that they have been false to fundamental Liberal principles, it is a true kindness to send them into private life. Those who voted for the secrecy of the Educational Committee ought to have no vote from any Liberal or Progressive elector. London is full of public-spirited Liberals who are Progressive in fact as well as in name, and if they come forward they will be enthusiastically supported. But to succeed they must be faithful to the three great Liberal watchwords, Economy, Efficiency, and Publicity."

Progressive Advocacy for an 'ad hoc' Authority.

Indeed it is significant that the Progressives themselves seem to be anxious to unyoke the County Council from the portion of educational responsibility. The London Progressive Educational Council, of which Lord Stanley of Alderley is President, Earl Beauchamp Treasurer, and Dr. Clifford Vice-

President, have issued a manifesto which appeared in *The Morning Post* of July 25th, 1906. The manifesto is, in brief, an appeal for "the re-creation of a separate Educational Authority for London, directly elected for the purpose, without disqualification of candidates on the ground of sex, residence, or ratepaying."

Dr. Macnamara, M.P., speaking at North Camberwell on July 21st, 1906, said :—"London must have again a directly-elected Board of Education."

The Municipal Reform view is that the County Council is fully able to discharge its educational duties, if it delegates to a committee the business which committees ordinarily, and should rightly, transact.

The Question of Cost.

The vital importance of securing an election of a new Council that will deal fairly with Non-provided Schools is made clear when it is realised what the number of schools is that would be closed if the Progressives were allowed to carry out in completeness their campaign of sectarianism. The following table is given on page 56 of the Annual Report of the Proceedings of the Council for 1905-6 :—

Position on 31st March, 1906.	Schools where requirements have been made.	Schools declared to be unsuitable.	Totals.
(a) Schools closed or to be closed ..	9	37	46
(b) Requirements carried out to the satisfaction of the Council..	13	—	13
(c) Requirements in process of being carried out	87	—	87
(d) Requirements under consideration by Council and Managers	238	—	238
(e) Plans prepared before the survey	4	1	5
(f) Plans for reconstruction of unsuitable schools approved by Council	—	13	13
(g) Plans or proposals for reconstruction of unsuitable schools submitted by Managers and under consideration	—	57	57
Totals	351	108	459

In cases where a school has been declared to be partly suitable and partly unsuitable, it has been, for the purposes of this summary, treated as two schools.

In 1905-06, the average attendance in London County Council Schools was 495,901. During the same year, the average attendance in Non-provided Schools was 165,163. The net cost per child for day schools, excluding the aid grant, was in L.C.C. Schools £3 5s. 3d., while in Voluntary Schools it was only £1 9s. 9d. It is significant that although the average gross cost per child in Non-provided Schools for the year 1905-6 was £2 19s. 3d., during the year 1904-5 it was £2 9s. 3d. The increase is attempted to be justified on the score of salaries of teachers, fuel, light and cleaning, and instruction in handicraft.

The following table will further explain the increase :—

	L.C.C. Schools. 1905.	L.C.C. Schools. 1906.	Voluntary Schools. 1905.	Voluntary Schools. 1906.
Gross cost per child ..	£ s. d. 4 15 9	£ s. d. 4 16 5	£ s. d. 2 9 3	£ s. d. 2 19 3
Income per child (excluding aid grant)	1 11 1	1 11 2	0 14 3*	1 9 6
Income per child for all schools (including aid grant)	£3 4 8	£3 5 3	£1 15 0	£1 9 9
Net cost (excluding aid grant)	£1 14 4	in 1905	£1 18 5	in 1906.
Net cost for all schools (in- cluding aid grant) ..	3 4 8	3 5 3	1 15 0	1 9 9
	£2 9 5	in 1905.	£2 8 5	in 1906.

* The income of 14s. 3d. per child in Voluntary Schools in 1905 is misleading. The L.C.C. took over the Non-provided Schools in May, 1904, and the 14s. 3d. is largely made up of the proportion only of a year's grant from the Imperial Exchequer, *i.e.*, from May to December.

Of course the vital figure is the one showing gross cost. The increasing grants made in relief do not affect the question of extravagant expenditure. Thus we see that the gross cost per child has risen in L.C.C. Schools from £4 15s. 9d. in 1905 to £4 16s. 5d. in 1906, and in Non-provided Schools under L.C.C. management, from £2 9s. 3d. in 1905 to £2 19s. 3d. in 1906.

Lord Welby on the Cost of Education.

The cost of education under the L.C.C. has steadily increased. Lord Welby, the Progressive Chairman of the Finance Committee, in making his annual financial statement for the year

1905-6, at the Council on May 16th, 1905, uttered a warning :—
 “ They (the Council) must turn, he feared, with some anxiety from the financial record of their ordinary administration to their estimate for education. They all desired to support heartily Sir W. Collins and the Education Committee in their efforts to promote the cause of education. But in prosecuting counsels of perfection, must not some regard be paid to the expenditure involved, to the legitimate interests of the ratepayer ? Reasonable prudence in co-ordinating and graduating the schemes of experts might prevent a conflict with the ratepayers. If such a conflict were precipitated, far from promoting, might it not possibly end in retarding the progress of education to a degree they would all deplore ? Ten years ago (1895-6) the education rate was 11½d. in the £. In 1903-4, the last complete year for which the School Board was responsible, it rose to 15·18d. The rate for 1904-5, levied partly by the late School Board and partly by this Council, was 16d., and this year, the first full year for which the Council is responsible, it was to be raised by 2d. to 18d. ; and the estimates of 1905-6, moreover, only provided the initial expenditure on schemes which involved a heavy further expenditure in years to come. (The estimated total cost of some of the recent proposals as to scholarships, teachers’ salaries, &c., was £636,000, of which £127,000 was estimated to fall on 1905-6.) There at once was a further 3d. on the rates to which the Council would be committed. Further schemes were, he understood, under consideration. With those figures and those prospects before them, he would ask whether the time had not come when the Council should lay down for its own guidance a financial policy in the matter of education ? Did it contemplate no limit on the progress of this expenditure ? But, if it admitted the principle of a limit, ought it not to lay down some rule to guide the Education Committee in the preparation and co-ordination of their proposals, and for that purpose ought it not to defer giving further sanction until the Education Committee could give it a forecast of the extensions and expenditure which they considered desirable ? ”

The growth of expenditure referred to by Lord Welby is illustrated by the following table :—

Year.	Rate.	Expenditure.	Average gross cost per child.		
			£	s.	d.
1894-5 ..	10·45	.. 2,171,000 ..	3	14	11
1897-8 ..	12·36	.. 2,509,000 ..	4	0	5
1899-0 ..	13·37	.. 2,954,000 ..	4	10	0
1903-4 ..	15·18	.. 3,261,000 ..	4	13	3
1904-5 ..	16·0	.. 3,967,000* ..	4	15	9†
1905-6 ..	18·0	.. 4,836,000 ..	—	—	—
1906-7 ..	19·0 (est.)	.. — ..	—	—	—

The following is taken from Lord Welby's Budget Speech for the financial year 1906-7, delivered on May 8th, 1906 :—

<i>Education</i>				£
“ We estimated the education receipts for 1905-6				
at .. .. .	..	..	..	4,777,689
We estimate them for the current year at ..	..	..	..	5,138,999
Increase				361,310
We estimated education expenditure, including				
the charge of education debt, at .. ..	..	..	..	4,836,094
We estimate it for the current year at ..	..	..	..	5,178,132
Increase				342,038

“ This increase of expenditure will be met, first of all, by the increase due to the quinquennial valuation in the produce of the rate ; that amounts to £137,285. In addition to that, 1d. added to the rates produces £181,157. These two sums together approach £320,000, the balance being made up out of the ordinary receipts for education. Here for one moment I may remind the Council that they inherited from the School Board an education rate of 15d. in the £. **In three years it has been increased by the Council by 4d. It is now 19d., and that by no means expresses the limit to which the education expenditure is tending.** If I might say one word, surely it is worth the Council's while, when it is considering education, at all events to try to practise economy in such matters as expensive sites and decorated buildings.”

* Elementary and Higher Education.

† L.C.C. Schools.

Progressive Condemnation.

On May 15th, 1906, the following speech was made in the Council :—

Mr. Gautrey (P.), the Chairman of the Educational Accounts Sub-Committee, submitted what, in his opinion, were the salient features of the Education estimates. He said that the gross expenditure is estimated at £5,178,132, and net £3,481,123 (from rates), showing increases of £342,038 and £299,170 respectively. The expenditure on higher education now reached £854,334 (net £512,141), showing an increase of £102,203 (net £99,734). In this expenditure the middle classes, he said, are at last getting some return on their contributions to rates and taxes, as those who sent their children to Secondary Schools paid only about one-half the actual cost in the term fees, the remainder coming from London County Council grants, Government grants, and endowments. The Education rate now reaches 1s. 7d. in the £, an increase of 1d. for the year, and of 4d. since the London County Council took over education on May 1st, 1904. The increase is due, of course, in the first instance, to the taking over of the Non-provided Schools, but is also largely due to the rapid development of the scholarship schemes and the establishment of new Secondary Schools, and grants to existing Secondary Schools not under the London County Council control. Every one who knew the progress being made anticipated a larger increase than 1d. **Fortunately the new quinquennial assessment came to the rescue, otherwise the increase would have been nearly 2d.** Of the total of 1s. 7d., 1s. 4½d. is for elementary and 2½d. for higher education, the cost of which is growing nearly three times as fast as that of elementary education. The scholarships scheme is mainly responsible, as it now costs £213,390 from the rates. The net cost of the Non-provided Schools is £267,091, with an average attendance of 157,739, or about £1 14s. per child, which is much lower than for the Council's schools, because the Council has not materially raised the very low salaries paid to the teachers in these schools when they were taken over. . . . One question calling for very serious consideration is the large increase in the cost of administration. In the last year of the School Board this was approximately £200,000, including enforcement of school attendance. It is now approximately £300,000, an increase in four years of nearly 50 per cent. That this is excessive is shown by the fact that the general expenditure on education has increased less than one-half as rapidly. **It arises from the multiplication of inspectors, advisers, and other highly paid officials. . . .**

So serious did he consider the increasing administrative charges that he advocated the appointment of a Special Com-

mittee to go into the whole question of whether a considerable saving both in time and money could not be effected by the abolition of the dual system of the Clerk's and Executive Departments. **At present the administrative machinery is fearfully and wonderfully made, but is extravagantly costly and exceedingly slow in action.**

The Increase in Officialism.

The Education Committee now holds sway over 988 schools in London. On assuming office, it at once introduced an elaborate scheme of organisation, the chief feature of which was the creation of highly-paid officials. The first proposal made was to appoint three chief officials, termed respectively an educational adviser, an executive officer, and a chief clerk. These officials were appointed at salaries of £1,500, £1,000, and £800 per annum respectively. None of these existed under the old School Board, except, perhaps, the chief clerk, who occupied the post formerly held by the Clerk to the Board. Next came the proposal to appoint, and then the appointment of, a chief inspector at a salary of £800. This official was also deemed to be unnecessary under the London School Board. More posts were soon created, and the educational adviser was provided with an assistant education adviser at a salary of £600. The executive officer was also provided with an assistant at a salary of £600. But the executive officer did not stop there. Several of the old officials of the London School Board were put under him, and called principal assistants, and with a few added from outside, he was soon supplied with eight assistants, and shortly after obtained three more, who entered the service as senior assistants to the executive officer. Additions were also made to the Chief Inspector's Department. The London School Board and the Technical Education Board had been contented with 22 inspectors, but the new authority soon increased that number to 31.

The Education Committee appointed four divisional inspectors. In addition, it created offices for four new district inspectors, and four new assistant inspectors. Besides the 31 inspectors already referred to, there are also drawing inspectors, physical drill inspectors, manual training inspectors, needlework inspectors, &c. In all, the inspectors in the service of the L.C.C.

amount to a small army. The appointment of these new officials was an unnecessary waste of money if, as their name implies, they were appointed as inspectors, for the schools were already supervised by a body of Government inspectors. These latter officials supervise both Elementary and Secondary Education, and if they deem it necessary they present to the Board of Education a report on each school. These reports are in turn submitted to the L.C.C., and thus the employment of a staff of officials to do the same work is to a large extent an unnecessary and an expensive duplication.

The inspectoral staff of the London School Board in 1903 cost £10,000. In 1906, it is estimated that the cost of the L.C.C. inspectoral staff will be £20,000, an increase in three years of £10,000, and all this for work largely done by another body.

The Cost of Abolishing the Voluntary Schools.

It will be seen from the above that the increase in cost is gradual and unbroken. Attempts have been made by Progressives to escape the blame for this increased expenditure by asserting that it has been necessitated owing to their controlling the Non-provided Schools. The Progressives, however, omit to mention that there is an annual grant from the Imperial Exchequer on account of the Voluntary Schools of £250,000. For reasons of their own, the Council only allocated £66,000 as the proportion due to the Voluntary Schools. It should be pointed out that over 200,000 children are being educated in these Non-provided Schools. The Progressive policy is clearly to exterminate the Voluntary Schools; they have already condemned many of them, and view with hostility those that still remain.

Recent Treatment of the Voluntary Schools by the Progressives.

At the meeting of the Council held on November 27th, 1906, an unsuccessful attempt was made by Mr. W. Whittaker Thompson (M.) to induce the Council to mitigate somewhat the severity of the measures which the Education Committee pro-

posed should be taken in regard to certain Non-provided Schools. The Committee recommended that seven schools, the managers of which, it was reported, had taken no steps, or practically none, with a view to the remodelling of the premises, be not maintained by the Council after January 6th, 1907, and that another be not maintained after February 28th, 1907. Mr. Thompson, while not contending that these schools should not be closed, moved an amendment to the effect that if within nine months the requirements of the Council had been carried out, the right of the Managers to claim maintenance should not be prejudiced. He pointed out that the delay of the Council of six months in making its requisitions upon the Managers of Voluntary Schools had had the result that when they were made the Education Bill loomed up and the difficulty of raising the money for the improvement of the premises became acute. The amendment was seconded by Lieutenant-Colonel Rotton (M.), but lost on a show of hands, and the recommendations of the Committee were then adopted. The schools concerned are : The St. Mark's N. (C.E.) School, East Kennington ; the Wandsworth Road (Commercial) School, Wandsworth Road ; the St. Matthew's (C.E.) School, Upper Clapton ; the Benevolent Society of St. Patrick's School, Stamford Street ; the St. Thomas's N. (C.E.) (Infants') School, Portman Square ; the Our Lady (R.C.) School, Kentish Town ; the St. Peter's and St. Edward's (R.C.) School, Buckingham Gate ; the St. Mary Magdalene's (C.E.) (Infants') School, Cirencester Street.

The Cost to the Ratepayers.

Londoners would do well to remember the words of Mr. Sidney Webb (Progressive), Chairman of the Technical Education Board of the L.C.C. from 1893 to 1898, and again in 1901-2, taken from his work, "London Education," published in 1904 (pages 206-7) :—

"There are those who advise the electors to refuse to the Voluntary Schools any support from the rates, when in a few years' time this becomes necessary ; and who are willing to see them close their doors if their present subscribers will not keep them efficient. Whether or not this would be fair, it is a mere matter of financial administration to point out that **it would be ruinous to the London ratepayer . . . to**

build "provided" schools for 200,000 more children would cost the London ratepayers over £5,000,000. It would be simply impossible for the London County Council to add £5,000,000 to its already heavy capital commitments within the next few years."

The attitude of the Progressives with regard to the Voluntary Schools is insincere. They exaggerate the cost, and seek to place the burden of their extravagant expenditure on education generally on the Voluntary Schools. Mr. Shephard (Progressive), the present Chairman of the Education Committee, speaking in the Council on May 23rd, 1905, as Vice-Chairman of the Education Committee, actually made the statement that:—

"If they could throw off this incubus of the Voluntary Schools they could reduce their rates."

It will be seen that before the Voluntary Schools were controlled by the L.C.C., the cost of the Board Schools steadily rose while under the School Board, and has been steadily rising since. The expense to which the ratepayer has been put over Voluntary Schools is in a very large degree due to the maliciously unnecessary requirements insisted upon by the L.C.C. Education Committee with a view to crushing the Voluntary Schools out of existence for political and sectarian purposes.

Bad Administration.

A large portion of this steadily mounting expenditure is also due to the large sum lavished upon administration. Dr. Macnamara, M.P., himself an old School Board teacher, speaking in the House of Commons on July 23rd, 1906, said:—

"The destruction of the London School Board was an extraordinary leap in the dark, and the work had become hopelessly bureaucratised. The administration of the London School Board for the year ending 1904 amounted to £124,000, and at the close of the present year the official administration would amount to £300,000." (*c.f.* Official Reports, Col. 823.)

The Education Committee has an army of officials, and there is not only much economy that might be made, but at the same time greater efficiency might be secured. The organisation is hopelessly bad.

The chief ground of complaint against the L.C.C. as Educational Authority is that it has got to too large an extent into

the hands of officials and is maladministered. The official report for the year ending March, 1906, issued on October 12th, 1906, gives the following facts :—

“The average roll of the Public Elementary Schools was three-quarters of a million. The staff of teachers in the services of the Council numbered about 20,000, 17,000 of whom were engaged in Public Elementary Schools, receiving salaries amounting to over £2,000,000 per annum. The staff employed in the administration of education work numbered over 500, and in addition there were about 400 engaged as attendance officers, while there were about 600 bodies of Managers appointed for the purpose of supervising the detailed work of the schools.”

A Striking Indictment.

The Morning Post of November 2nd, 1906, in an inspired article which has not been challenged, gives striking revelations of maladministration. Here are some extracts :—

“The teachers have complained and complain continually that they get no sympathetic treatment at the hands of the Council or the staff, and that it is impossible to penetrate to anyone in authority in order to discuss the problems which they have to face. The staff complain that they are overworked and harassed by internal friction and external interference, and the Councillors themselves protest angrily that they cannot get into touch with what is going on in London education. Last, but not least, the ratepayers are becoming indignant at an administration which taxes the funds administered more than 6 per cent.—1 per cent. more than did the old School Board, and 1½ per cent. more than the Technical Education Board, the two bodies whose work is now performed by the Education Committee of the Council.

“The General Purposes Committee put forward an entirely new scheme of reference to the Education Committee, the effect of which, if adopted, will be to make the Education Committee, instead of an advisory body, the real Education Authority for London ; reserving only for the decision of the Council questions of policy, the establishment of new principles, and the transfer of Non-provided Schools. This is the very scheme which the Progressive party rejected with contumely in the early part of 1904, an action which has resulted in the blocking of the Council's work ever since that time by the discussion of petty details of educational administration which should have been dealt with in Committee. . . .

“The teachers' complaint that they can get at no one in authority is a just one ; but they do wrong to blame the officers

of the Council. There is no one in authority. There are committees and sub-committees, a democratic hierarchy whose head is lost—sometimes in more senses than one—in the Council Chamber at Spring Gardens. There is a bureaucratic hierarchy whose head is the Clerk to the Council, and there is an executive hierarchy whose head is the executive officer, but whose policy is that adopted by the Education Committee after consultation with the educational adviser. Everything is done in triplicate with enormous friction and expense; but this is the least of the resulting evils. The only official channel of communication between the Committee and the executive staff is through the Committee clerks. A subordinate clerk, acting with the nominal authority of his sub-committee, can put the whole cumbrous machinery of the Education Office in motion, not always profitably. Otherwise the chief officers and other officials of the Council are securely tied up with red tape, and all the scissors are in the Clerks' Department. . . .”

“The clerks, too, form the only official channel of communication with outside bodies. Negotiations, recommended and begun by the educational experts in the Executive Department, must be handed over to lay clerks for revision and completion, a process always attended with waste of time, often with considerable friction, and not in every case with advantage to the best interests of the Council or of education. The Board of Education itself cannot officially direct or communicate with the experts in the Council's service except through the intervention of this separate department, and it may perfectly well be the case—it is more likely to be so under the new scheme than under the old—that while the Education Committee are substantially in sympathy with the views of the Board of Education on some vexed question of detailed administration, the Clerks' Department is inspired from the Council Chamber with the views of a faction opposed to the policy of Mr. Birrell and Mr. Morant.

The Scheme before the Council.

“So far from remedying this state of affairs, the scheme now before the Council proposes, while increasing the powers of the Education Committee in many respects, to take the whole clerical staff out of its control; and not the clerical staff only, but all clerks in the Executive Department, would seem to be excluded from Clause 7 of the scheme. It is unnecessary to point out how this further division of authority must paralyse the working of the department. Apparently every officer directly connected with the work of the Committee will be entirely exempt from its control. But while any further centralisation of the clerical bureaucracy at Spring Gardens should be strongly

resisted, it must be confessed that the true evil is not in the Clerks' Department. The system alone is to blame. Where there are a number of departments doing the same work, where every sub-committee is attended by a number of officials representing their conflicting ideas, there must be conflicts of jurisdiction. The only way to make the office workable at all is by a strict adherence to rule and routine. Under the various guidance of three or more principal officers such a system, wasteful as it is, is the only one possible.

A Paramount Head Wanted.

"This is the evil which requires the first remedy in the treatment of London educational administration, and the present proposals, so far as they touch it at all, can only aggravate the trouble. What is wanted is a paramount head over the whole educational staff, expert in educational matters and responsible only to the Committee and its chairman, as a permanent secretary in the Civil Service to his political chief. This officer should be the link between the Education Committee, the Board of Education, and the official staff, without the intervention of any outside department. All educational clerks should be answerable to him alone. This is the organisation which has worked admirably in nearly all the counties of England for the last three years, it is the system almost universally adopted in America, and it is one which was tried and found excellent in London in the days of the old Technical Education Board. It is the only system by which clerks, inspectors, and executive assistants can be made to pull together and real democratic control secured."

The Reign of Officialism.

In a leading article dealing with the subject of the above article, *The Morning Post* of the same date says:—

"London is at this moment the scene of a conflict analogous to that which has been carried on for two years in Russia between bureaucracy and the spirit of freedom. The subject-matter of the dispute is the Secondary Schools. The bureaucracy is formed of the officials of the Education Committee of the London County Council; the men who wish to maintain a reasonable freedom are the head masters of the Secondary Schools. The victory of the bureaucracy would mean the end of good education in London. The Education Act of 1902, and the Education (London) Act of 1903, empower the Council to take such steps as seem to them desirable after consultation with the Board of Education to supply or aid the supply of education other than elementary. The County Council interprets this to mean that it is to take

absolute control of all the Secondary Schools in London, and to administer them from its central office through its own executive officers, with the slightest possible regard either for the governing bodies of the schools or for the head masters, each of whom is to be regarded as the direct subordinate of the executive officers of the Council Committee.

“ We have before us regulations issued by the County Council governing grants to Secondary Schools. By these regulations the Council claims a control over the governing bodies in the appointment of head masters, and lays down rules by which governing bodies are to be guided in the appointment and dismissal of assistant masters. All schools receiving grants are to be at all times open to the inspectors of the County Council. Some of these regulations are sound enough in principle. The body which makes a grant is entitled to inspect, or at least to have access to the reports of qualified inspectors. The Board of Education inspects the Secondary Schools, and it might have been thought that if the Board of Education employed competent inspectors the County Council might be satisfied with their reports. If there must be two sets of inspectors some arrangement ought to be made to secure their working in harmony, yet it constantly happens that a school is visited on the same day unexpectedly both by an inspector from the Board of Education and by one from the County Council. The County Council inspectors are either peculiar persons or have received peculiar instructions. It is no uncommon practice for a County Council inspector to enter a class-room without having communicated with the head master, and on the spot, of his own authority, to rebuke the teacher for his methods and to order him to alter his course. This is an interference in the function of a head master which, if it is permitted, is tantamount to the abolition of that office. No inspector who was an educated man and competent to inspect a school would ever permit himself by word or act to derogate from the authority either of the teacher or of the head master, and if the County Council approves of such conduct it shows itself unacquainted with the real nature of education, which is a moral process aiming at the formation of a good character in the pupils. . . . The idea of the County Council appears to be that the head master is a cipher, that the children of the schools are to be disciplined by its clerks acting in its central office, and that the head master, though his position requires him to maintain the discipline of his school as well as its standard of scholarship, is to be in every respect the mechanical subordinate of its own clerks. . . . The executive officer calls upon head masters to report to him in detail upon the absences of certain pupils, and the same executive officer deliberately attempts to overthrow the authority of all head masters by himself receiving complaints from pupils, and requiring head

masters to account to him for these complaints. These are all specimens of treatment to which no self-respecting head master would submit, and the only possible inference is either that the Education Committee of the County Council does not know what its executive officer is doing or that it deliberately proposes to make the position of head master of a London Secondary School impossible for any man of high character and intelligence.

"The bureaucratic system in any form is absolutely incompatible with education. . . . True education is a humanising process, and cannot by any possibility be carried on mechanically. The vital force in education is the educator, who, so long as the pupil is a child, must be at once teacher and master. He must have authority in order that the children may be disciplined. He must have knowledge and method in order that they may be instructed. But both in discipline and in instruction the efficacious power is always and in all cases the personality of the teacher. . . . A good system will therefore give to the head master the utmost possible freedom. Its main effort will be to secure as head masters men of the very highest type of character, intelligence, and learning. It is the glory of the English Public School system that its great schools have had so remarkable a supply of strong personalities as their heads. To this is due the fact . . . that it is to the English Public Schools at the present moment that both Germany and France are looking for inspiration as to how their own great schools may be made to produce better results in the formation of character among the pupils. This great trait in the Public Schools has been wonderfully caught by the Secondary Schools of London, which have a body of head masters remarkable not merely for their scientific and literary attainments, but also for their high level of character and for the lofty standard they have set before themselves. **The County Council seems to aim at setting over these men a drill-master in the shape of its own executive officer. The design is monstrous and intolerable.**"

Mr. Thomas (Progressive), speaking in the Council on May 15th, 1906, said :—

"The plan seemed to be to duplicate the officials in every department. He had never been on the Sub-Committee where there had not been more officials than members present. The additional staff of the Clerk of the Council ran away with £56,750. There appeared to have been no corresponding increase in the efficiency of the schools as a consequence of this increased expenditure on officials. Indeed, the constant worry had had an unsettling influence on the teaching staff, and Canon Jephson had resigned his seat as a protest against the domination of the officials of the Council. The whole matter required serious consideration, and he thought a special committee should be appointed to enquire into it."

The West Riding Judgment and the L.C.C.

The West Riding Judgment of the Court of Appeal gave the L.C.C. Progressives a further opportunity, at which they at once snatched, of displaying unveiled hostility to the Non-provided Schools. It will be remembered that the matter at issue was simply this: Is a payment by an Educational Authority for denominational education a legal payment? The King's Bench Division decided in the affirmative. The Appeal Court reversed the King's Bench decision. Taking the Appeal Court judgment as it stood, it went no further than this. It decided that, while no Educational Authority is compelled to pay for religious teaching, there was not in the judgment a shadow of an indication that Education Authorities were not at liberty to make these payments if they chose so to do.

This was the position on October 9th, 1906, when the matter came before the Council.* Meanwhile the Education Committee had taken the opinion of Sir Robert Finlay, K.C. In spite of his advice, that the Council should continue the practice which had hitherto been followed until the case had been heard in the House of Lords or the matter had been dealt with by fresh legislation, the Progressive leader, Mr. McKinnon Wood, M.P., moved the following resolution:—

“That all words after the word ‘That’ in line 1 be omitted, and that the following words be substituted therefor:—‘inasmuch as, in view of the decision of the Court of Appeal, the Council has no power to defray the expenses of denominational religious instruction in Non-provided Schools, the recommendation of the Committee be referred back with instructions to report forthwith to the Council what steps should be taken to provide that no payment shall be made for such instruction, due care being taken to prevent hardship to the teachers in those schools; and that authority be given to the Education Committee to enter into the necessary communications with the Board of Education.’”

The amendment was put to the vote, and, the Council having divided, there voted:—

* For a full report of this debate *cf.* “The L.C.C. and the West Riding Judgment,” obtainable from the London Municipal Society.

FOR THE AMENDMENT—72.

Allen, A. A.	..	..	..	(P)	Bermondsey.
Bayley, E.	..	..	..	„	West Southwark.
Beaton, Dr. R. M.	..	..	..	„	St. Pancras, North.
Benn, Sir John	..	..	..	„	Kennington.
Bray, R.	..	..	..	„	Camberwell, North.
Briant, F.	..	..	..	„	Lambeth, North.
Bruce, W. W.	..	..	..	„	Bow and Bromley.
Chambers, F.	..	..	..	„	Woolwich.
Clarke, G. Goddard	..	..	..	„	Peckham.
Cleland, J. W.	..	..	..	„	Lewisham.
Collins, S.	..	..	..	„	Kennington.
Collins, Sir William J.	..	..	..	„	St. Pancras, West.
Cooper, B.	..	..	..	„	Bow and Bromley.
Cornwall, Sir Edwin	..	..	..	„	Bethnal Green, North-East.
Crooks, W.	..	..	..	„	Poplar.
Davies, T.	..	..	..	„	Fulham.
Davies, W.	..	..	..	„	Battersea.
Dawes, J. A.	..	..	..	„	Walworth.
Dew, G.	..	..	..	„	Islington, South.
Dickinson, W. H.	..	..	..	„	Alderman.
Dolman, F.	..	..	..	„	Brixton.
Gautrey, T.	..	..	..	„	Dulwich.
Gilbert, J. T. (<i>Teller</i>)	..	..	..	„	West Newington.
Glanville, H. J.	..	..	..	„	Rotherhithe.
Goodman, W.	..	..	..	„	Islington, West.
Gosling, H.	..	..	..	„	St. George's-in-the-East.
Hardy, G. A.	..	..	..	„	Dulwich.
Harvey, T. E.	..	..	..	„	Finsbury, East.
Hemphill, Capt.	The	Hon.			
Fitzroy	..	..	..	„	Finsbury, Central.
Hubbard, N. W.	..	..	..	„	Norwood.
Hunter, T.	..	..	..	„	West Southwark.
Jeffrey, J.	..	..	..	„	Chelsea.
Jesson, C.	..	..	..	„	Walworth.
Jones, Rev. L. J.	..	..	..	„	Woolwich.
Lampard, G.	..	..	..	„	Hackney, North.

Leon, A. L.	..	..	..	(P)	Limehouse.
Lewis, J.	..	..	..	„	Marylebone, West.
Lidgett, Rev. J. Scott	..	..	..	„	Alderman.
McDougall, Sir John	..	..	..	„	Poplar.
Mitchell, Isaac	..	..	..	„	Alderman.
Monkswell, Lord	..	..	..	„	Haggerston.
Mullins, W. E.	..	..	..	„	Alderman.
Napier, Dr. T. B.	..	..	..	„	Islington, North.
Parkinson, W. C.	..	..	..	„	Islington, North.
Phillimore, R. C.	..	..	..	„	Deptford.
Piggott, John	..	..	..	„	West Newington.
Pomeroy, Ambrose	..	..	..	„	Rotherhithe.
Russell, Arthur B.	..	..	..	„	Finsbury, Central.
Salter, Dr. A.	..	..	..	„	Bermondsey.
Sandhurst, Lord	..	..	..	„	City of London.
Sears, J. E.	..	..	..	„	Hackney, North.
Sharp, L.	..	..	..	„	Brixton.
Shepherd, A. J.	..	..	..	„	Hackney, Central.
Shrubsall, G.	..	..	..	„	Norwood.
Smith, Alfred	..	..	..	„	Hackney, South.
Smith, Edward	..	..	..	„	Bethnal Green, North-East.
Smith, J.	..	..	..	„	St. George's-in-the-East.
Strong, R.	..	..	..	„	Alderman.
Taylor, H. R.	..	..	..	„	Camberwell, North.
Torrance, Sir Andrew M.	..	..	..	„	Islington, East.
Verney, F. W.	..	..	..	„	Peckham.
Wallas, G.	..	..	..	„	Hoxton.
Ward, H. (V.C.)	..	..	..	„	Hoxton.
Warmington, F. W.	..	..	..	„	Greenwich.
Warren, G. J.	..	..	..	„	Mile End.
Waterlow, D. S.	..	..	..	„	St. Pancras, North.
Welby, Lord	..	..	..	„	Alderman.
West, Rt. Hon. Sir Algernon E.	..	..	..	„	Alderman.
Wiles, T. (<i>Teller</i>)	..	..	..	„	Bethnal Green, South-West,
Williams, Howell J.	..	..	..	„	Islington, South.
Wood, T. McKinnon	..	..	..	„	Hackney, Central.
Yates, W. B...	..	..	..	„	Alderman.

AGAINST THE AMENDMENT.—31.

Alliston, F. P.	..	..	(M)	City of London.
Anstruther, H. T.	..	..	„	Alderman.
Bailey, W.	..	..	„	Marylebone, West.
Barnes, E.	..	..	„	St. Pancras, East.
Beachcroft, Sir R. Melvill	..	„	„	Paddington, North.
Bliss, Sir Henry W.	..	„	„	Holborn.
Brooke-Hitching, Sir Thomas				
H.	..	..	„	City of London.
Cobb, C. S.	..	..	„	Fulham.
Collins, E.	..	..	„	Hammersmith.
Colville, Lt.-Col. C. F.	..	„	„	Kensington, North.
Forman, E. B. (D.C.)	..	„	„	Alderman.
Gaskell, T. P.	..	..	„	Clapham.
Gastrell, Major W. Houghton	„	„	„	St. Pancras, South.
Goldsmith, F.	..	..	„	St. Pancras, South.
Goodrich, A. O.	..	..	„	Stepney.
Gordon, H. H.	..	..	(Ind)	Whitechapel.
Greenwood, H. J.	..	..	(M)	St. George's, Hanover Square.
Guinness, Hon. Rupert	..	„	„	City of London.
Harris, H. P. (<i>Teller</i>)	..	„	„	Paddington, South.
Johnson, W. C.	..	..	(P)	Whitechapel.
Lancaster, W. J.	..	..	(M)	Wandsworth.
Probyn, Lt.-Col. C.	..	..	„	Strand.
Robinson, R. A.	..	..	„	Kensington, South.
Rotton, Lt.-Col. A.	..	..	„	Clapham.
Sankey, Stuart	..	..	„	City of London.
Sturge, C. Y.	..	..	„	Westminster.
Swinton, Capt. G. S. C. (<i>Teller</i>)	„	„	„	Holborn.
Taylor, John T.	..	..	„	Hampstead.
Thompson, W. W.	..	..	„	Alderman.
White, E.	..	..	„	Alderman.
Williams, Jabez	..	..	„	Lambeth, North.

The amendment was declared carried.

The Education Committee, in their Report dated October 31st, 1906, stated :—

“1.—The Council on October 9th, 1906, resolved as follows :—

“That, inasmuch as, in view of the decision of the Court of Appeal, the Council has no power to defray the expenses of denominational religious instruction in Non-provided Schools, the recommendation of the Committee be referred back, with instructions to report forthwith to the Council what steps should be taken to provide that no payment shall be made for such instruction, due care being taken to prevent hardship to the teachers in those schools; and that authority be given to the Education Committee to enter into the necessary communications with the Board of Education.”

“Our General Purposes Sub-Committee, after carefully considering what steps should be taken to meet the requirements of the Council, and acting on the advice of the solicitor, the executive officer, and the educational adviser, submitted to us the following scheme, which they were of opinion would comply, as far as possible, with the Council’s instruction :—

“On and after 1st day of February, 1907, and until further notice, the Council will continue to defray the salaries of teachers in Non-provided Schools in accordance with the existing scale, so long as the undermentioned conditions are complied with :—

“(1) The teachers shall attend during the whole of the school hours.

“(2) The teachers shall, during the whole of the school hours, be engaged solely in secular teaching, or in other secular work in connection with the school, in accordance with directions to be given from time to time to the Managers: Provided that in any case in which the Managers of a Non-provided School have agreed with the Council to pay to the Council, monthly in advance, such portion of the salary of any teacher employed by such Managers as is in the opinion of the Council payable to such teacher in respect of the giving of denominational religious instruction by such teacher, and such Managers are not in default in any payment under such agreement, the Managers may require such teacher to give denominational religious instruction.”

“We have not, however, in any way dealt with the foregoing scheme in view of the fact that in our opinion since the resolution of the Council was passed, the position of affairs has been materially altered, the Government having decided to prosecute the appeal to the House of Lords with a view to a final decision being arrived at on the law as quickly as possible.

"We therefore consider that it would be premature to take any immediate steps in the matter, and we recommend :—

"That no action be taken with reference to the resolution of 9th October, 1906, in the matter of *Rex v. the County Council of the West Riding of Yorkshire, until the appeal to the House of Lords has been decided.*" *

This recommendation came before the Council on November 6th, 1906, and was agreed to.

This, however, in no way takes from the fact that the Progressive Party joyfully seized the opportunity, for the time being afforded, of withdrawing from the Voluntary Schools all assistance for religious teaching, and contemptuously spurned the advice of Sir Robert Finlay, to the effect that the Council should continue the practice which had hitherto been followed until the case had been heard in the House of Lords or the matter had been dealt with by fresh legislation.

The voting and speeches of the Progressive Party on this occasion afford yet one more instance of their determined hostility towards denominational teaching of all kinds, and go to further show the hollowness of the promises they made in regard to the Voluntary Schools on the occasion of the last County Council elections.

Dr. Clifford and the Progressive Party.

According to *The British Weekly* of November 8th, 1906, it was to Dr. Clifford and "to the Nonconformist vote that they" (the Progressives) "owed their places" on the Council.

It is well that the public should be fully apprized of the fact that Dr. Clifford's real goal is the Disestablishment of the English Church, and that nothing less would in any way satisfy him or his followers, amongst whom may be numbered the vast majority of the Progressive Party on the L.C.C. The Education agitation was founded and is maintained by them merely to further their attacks on the Established Church. It

* On December 21st, 1906, the House of Lords in this case unanimously reversed the judgment of the Court of Appeal, and reaffirmed the decision of the King's Bench Division.

is therefore desirable to direct public attention to the fact that Dr. Clifford is the President of a Society maintained for this express object, and, as shown by the following statement, only recently was presiding at a meeting called for this express purpose.

“A special Disestablishment Conference of the Liberation Society took place on November 6th, 1906,” states *The Daily News* of November 7th, 1906, “at the Whitehall Rooms, London, Dr. Clifford presiding. Others present included Mr. Compton Rickett, M.P., Mr. P. W. Wilson, M.P., Mr. Massie, M.P., Mr. Maddison, M.P., and Mr. Hastings Duncan, M.P.

“The Chairman (Dr. Clifford) intimated that they had met to inaugurate their winter work—the work was extensive and the opportunity was grand. Their Society never had a louder or more imperative call than at present to undertake the task which it had set itself, or a finer opportunity to render service to real religion, thorough education, liberty, and progress. The strife and struggle through which they were passing were not a waste of energy or time, but a real contribution to the drilling of the nation in the apprehension of the principles of the Liberation Society. The House of Lords had demonstrated to the nation that **there is but one solution of the education problem, and that is the disestablishment and disendowment of the Anglican Church.** He believed that the object of the bishops was to wreck the Education Bill. By securing disestablishment and disendowment of the Church there would be obtained a demand from the people that the bishops should be expelled from the House of Lords. The education of the people had been going on during the controversy. The resolutions referred to the way in which Romanism was spreading. There was no help for Low Churchmen in Parliament through the bishops. The only way in which it was possible for Romanism to be scotched and stopped in its progress in this country was the way the Liberation Society propounded—that of speedy and thoroughgoing Diestablishment; and he appealed for increased financial support for the Society.”

Underfed Schoolchildren.

This matter is still in the experimental stage. On July 11th, 1905, the Education Committee presented a Report, and as a result it was decided that the food cooked in cookery centres be utilised as far as possible in arranging for dinners at the following L.C.C. Schools, the expenditure incurred to be recovered

from parents or charitable funds: Dulwich Hamlet (Dulwich); Ackmar Road (Fulham); Old Woolwich Road (Greenwich); Columbia Road (Bethnal Green); and Buckingham Street School (Islington).

The view the Municipal Reformers take upon this subject is this. The underfeeding must certainly be remedied, but wherever possible the cost must be recovered from the parents. Furthermore, resort should not be had to school-feeding indiscriminately, but only in cases where it is urgently required.

Some idea of the cost may be gathered from the following reply to a question made by the President of the Board of Education in the House of Commons on March 19th, 1906 :—

“The cost of the food for giving a meal to every child in public elementary schools in London on every occasion when the school is open would be, at 1d. per child, about £596,000 per annum, which is equivalent to a rate of 3½d. in the £; if the food cost 2d. a head, the figures would be £1,192,000, equivalent to a 7d. rate in the £. These figures take no account of the heavy expenditure on the provision and serving of the meals, including, not improbably, special buildings. Of this expenditure I can give no estimate.”

The Education (Provision of Meals) Bill passed its third reading in the House of Commons on December 13th, 1906.

The Daily Graphic, in a leading article on December 14th, 1906, says :—

“The Education (Provision of Meals) Bill, which passed its final stages in the House of Commons last night, has a direct bearing on the coming County Council elections. Under the Bill every local education authority will have the power to build kitchens and dining rooms for the purpose of supplying meals, not to a handful of necessitous children, but to all the children attending public elementary schools.

“In the elementary schools of London there are on the rolls about 750,000 children, and there is nothing to prevent the London County Council, as the education authority for London, from providing kitchens and dining rooms and preparing meals for all these children. Such a prospect would in any case be appalling, but it is made even more serious by the fact that the Bill does not even require the Council to charge a sufficient sum to cover the cost of the meal. An amendment raising this point was moved in the House of Commons last night, but rejected on

a division by an overwhelming majority. Thus a new vista of almost endless expense is opened for the London ratepayer. Yet the Bill which contains these serious consequences has always been represented as a modest measure for bringing relief to starving children. In reality it is a stage in the Socialist campaign that is being so cleverly conducted by the Independent Labour Party with the aid of the Liberal majority in the House of Commons. The avowed object of the Socialists is to secure State maintenance of all school children. The natural responsibilities of the parent are to be transferred to the ratepayer, and the London County Council is empowered by this Bill to become a potent instrument for that transference."

MAIN DRAINAGE — FLOODINGS.

A notable instance of how the Progressives have neglected to carry out primary duties of the first importance to the health of London is afforded by the scandalous delay in dealing with the inadequate main drainage system of the Metropolis, extending now over a period of seventeen years.

On December 17th, 1889 (a few months after its constitution), the Council passed a resolution asking the Main Drainage Committee for information as to the condition of the main drainage system "with a view to the prevention of disease." On January 17th, 1890, the Committee gave instructions to Mr. (now Sir) Benjamin Baker, the well-known engineer, and to the chief engineer of the Council, to fully report upon (*inter alia*) :—

"The provision of storm overflows, and the best means for avoidance of the floodings which have lately caused much inconvenience and injury in several low-lying districts."

The Committee urged :—

"Upon the engineers the desirability of the utmost promptitude in making their report, and that they should have regard to the advisability of delivering it to the Committee, for the information of the Council, in such time that, if works of magnitude may be recommended and approved, the requisite surveys and references could be made in time for any application to Parliament, of which notice would have to be given in the latter part of this year."—(*L.C.C. publication, No. 3, February, 1891, pp. 3-5.*)

Engineers' Report, 1891.

A year later the engineers presented their joint report, dated February 19th, 1891. The report referred to the inadequacy of the sewers :—

"To the frequent flooding complained of in the Isle of Dogs, Poplar, Hackney Wick, and Westminster; from which

it will be seen that relief for this portion of the system is urgently required. The cases of flooding on the south side of the river . . . are most serious in Peckham, Dulwich, and Streatham, and in some of the low-lying parts near the river.”—(pp. 10, 18.)

The engineers then stated :—

“It will be manifest that the most urgent present requirements are the prevention, as far as possible, of floods due to rainfall.”—(p. 19.)

They then proceeded to deal with the necessary new works required to bring the existing main drainage up to present requirements, and to provide for future increase.

“The cost of the proposed works will be approximately as follows :—

“APPROXIMATE ESTIMATE COST OF THE PROPOSED WORKS FOR IMPROVING THE EXISTING SYSTEM OF MAIN DRAINAGE ON THE NORTH AND SOUTH SIDES OF THE THAMES.

“*Works on the North side of the Thames.*

	£	£
New outfall sewer, Old Ford to Barking	620,000	
New intercepting sewer, Paddington to Old Ford	245,000	
Separation of Isle of Dogs and Hackney branches, including pumping engines	55,000	
Total of works on the North side of the Thames	————	920,000

“*Works on the South side of the Thames.*

New low-level sewer and branches, from Deptford to Crossness	427,000	
New high-level gravitation sewer, Dulwich and Crossness	784,000	
Engines and buildings at Crossness . .	89,000	
Total for works on the South side of the Thames	————	1,300,000
Total for both sides		<u>2,220,000”</u>

Summarising the report and conclusions, they say (p. 33) :—

“We have found on investigation that the most frequent cause of public complaint is due to the insufficient size of the main outfall sewers which has led to floodings of the low districts, and to the frequent discharge of much crude, undiluted sewage into the Thames in the heart of the Metropolis. To remedy **these immediate pressing evils,*** we have proposed the

* Nearly 16 years have elapsed since these words were used.

construction of new intercepting sewers on both sides of the river, of sufficient size to provide for the sewage of a future population of seven millions, and also for a reasonable amount of rainfall, at a cost of about $2\frac{1}{4}$ millions. We are of opinion that detailed plans should be prepared of these works, and that no time should be lost in commencing such portions of them as are more immediately required."

Plans prepared.

On March 10th, 1891, the Main Drainage Committee recommended that detailed plans be prepared of the proposed new sewers. On the proposal to adopt this recommendation it was agreed that the following addition should be made to the motion :—

"And that the Committee be instructed to obtain a further report, which shall have special reference to (A) the separation of the rainfall from the sewage in districts where it may be practicable ; (B) the better prevention of storm over-flows into the Thames and Lea ; (c) the better purification of the river." —(*Minutes*, 1891, p. 297.)

With regard to (A) it may be stated that this proposal, if carried out, would cost about 20 millions sterling.

Four Years' delay.

Year after year grave complaints of floodings continued to be made by local authorities in various districts, but little was done to obviate the inconvenience, monetary loss, and injury to public health. A few minor works were carried out, but the main proposals of Sir Benjamin Baker and Mr. (now Sir Alexander) Binnie were disregarded. On December 10th, 1895, an adjourned report of the Main Drainage Committee was considered by the Council. This report began :—

"We have to call the serious attention of the Council to the present state of the main drainage of London on the north side of the Thames."

It then gave a brief outline of the main drainage system, and the proposals of Sir Benjamin Baker and Mr. Binnie in their joint report of February, 1891.

"In reports, dated February 15th, 1894, and October 17th, 1895, the chief engineer has again called our attention to the necessity of at once undertaking the works required on the

north side of the Thames. **The chief engineer, reviewing all the facts, informs us that he was more strongly impressed than ever with the necessity of immediately proceeding with these works. If this is not done, he fears that the main drainage system will fall into disrepute."**

The Committee recommended the construction of an additional outfall sewer between Old Ford and Barking, and the new intercepting sewer between Paddington and Old Ford—the two chief proposals for North London contained in the report of 1891.

Progressive Opposition to Reform.

On the motion to adopt the recommendations of the Committee, an amendment was moved by Mr. (now Sir John) McDougall (Progressive), seconded by Mr. Idris (Progressive) (*i.e.*, on December 10th, 1895):—

“That the general enlargement of the main drainage system is not now necessary, but that local floodings need immediate attention.”

This amendment was carried, but, on the motion of Dr. Longstaff (Moderate), the following words were added:—

“And that the Main Drainage Committee be instructed to bring up a report, showing in detail the results of the several works carried out by the Council, with a view to relieve the main drainage system.”

Mr. McDougall, in moving his amendment, contended that the new sewers would not be successful in preventing the floodings:—

“That during the last six years the Council had spent, in connection with the relief of the sewers in the north of London, £165,000, and there was **now no need for any general enlargement of the sewerage system.**”

Mr. Idris, in seconding the amendment, said:—

“That if they went on as they were now doing, he felt sure that every year that passed would only tend to prove the futility of such an expenditure as they were now asked to sanction.”

This Progressive opposition to the carrying out of extremely urgent main drainage works was directly contrary to the opinion of the engineers, and the result was that London still continued to suffer from floodings.

Another Four Years' Delay.

However, four years later, in 1899, Sir Alexander Binnie, the eminent engineer, again recommended the execution of the proposed sewage works, north and south of the Thames, **at an estimated cost of nearly three million pounds.** These proposals were submitted to the Council on December 5th, 1899, with an expression of opinion that all the sewers should be constructed with as little delay as possible.

The report of 1899 stated that :—

“For a long time past serious complaints have been made of the insufficiency of the main sewers in the various parts of London, and our attention has been frequently directed to the dangers arising to public health from the periodical flooding of dwelling houses and other buildings with storm waters and sewage. **The duty of providing means for the drainage of the Metropolis is undoubtedly one of the principal duties committed to the charge of the Council, and the manner in which the Council fulfils its obligation in seeing that this work is effectually done is, and must be, a matter of the utmost concern to the public.**”—(*L.C.C. Minutes*, 1899, p. 1,702.)

After recapitulating the facts, as before set out, the report of the Committee stated, in effect, that the minor works carried out would be practically of little avail until the large works were executed.

Local Authorities condemn L.C.C.

The L.C.C. Minutes for 1899, state :—

“Strong representations, urging the construction of additional relief sewers, have been made by the following authorities :—

Battersea	Kensington	St. Luke's
Bermondsey	Lee	St. James, Westminster
Camberwell	Limehouse	St. Margaret and St.
Chelsea	Newington	John, Westminster
Fulham	Paddington	St. Martin-in-the-
Hackney	Plumstead	Fields
Hammersmith	Poplar	St. Marylebone
Holborn	St. George, Hanover	St. Olave's
	Square	Whitechapel
Islington	St. George-the-Martyr	

“Most of these authorities urge the construction of the sewers recommended in the joint report of 1891, and deputations from

several of them have, from time to time, appeared before us. We may also state, for the information of the Council, that some time ago a conference of the representatives of the Vestry of Hackney, Vestry of Paddington, Poplar District Board, Vestry of Stoke Newington, Vestry of Islington, and the Hornsey and South Hornsey District Councils, was held to discuss the serious condition of affairs arising from the insufficiency of the main sewers, and a deputation subsequently attended before us in support of a memorial urging that additional works, recommended as a remedy in the joint report of Sir Benjamin Baker and Sir Alexander Binnie, should be proceeded with without further delay, and that all minor works, which would tend to lessen local floodings and improve the flow of the high-level sewer, should be at once carried out. A further conference of the leading parishes on the north side of the Thames was held at the Paddington Vestry Hall on Friday, 27th October last, when the following resolution, relating to storm floodings and the attitude of the Council in the matter, was passed:—

“That this conference, comprising representatives of the leading parishes on the north side of the Thames, hereby places on record its surprise that, notwithstanding the strong expression of opinion by the Main Drainage Committee of the London County Council and its responsible officers, and the repeated representations of vestries and district boards, to the effect that the existing sewer accommodation of the Metropolis was entirely inadequate to carry out the work required of it, no attempt should have been made to abate the intolerable nuisance complained of; and further, that this conference urges upon the Council the absolute necessity of their at once carrying out such works as may be necessary to remedy the above-mentioned state of things.”—(*L.C.C. Minutes*, 1899, p. 1,723.)

More Progressive Opposition.

Notwithstanding the urgency of the matter, Mr. (now Sir John) McDougall (Progressive), on December 5th, 1899, moved an amendment, seconded by Mr. Idris (Progressive):—

“That the Council re-affirms its resolution of the 10th December, 1895, viz., that the general enlargement of the main drainage system is not now necessary, but that local floodings need immediate attention, and that, therefore, the recommendation be referred back to the Committee.”—(*L.C.C. Minutes*, 1899, p. 1,728.)

The amendment, however, was lost, and the Council decided, after eight years' delay, to execute certain works,

“The sums voted by the Council in respect of the enlargement of the Northern outfall sewer are as follows :—

Two sewers between the Abbey Mills pumping station and the Barking outfall, inclusive of incidental works at the latter station	£600,000
Two sewers between the Abbey Mills pumping station and Old Ford	200,000
	<hr/>
	£800,000 ”

On the south side of the Thames the Council decided to construct a new outfall sewer between Deptford pumping station and the Crossness outfall, and a high-level sewer between Crossness and Plumstead railway station, besides various other works. The sums voted by the Council in respect of this work amounted to £650,000.

Description of the Floodings.

On June 29th, 1903, *The Times* contained a letter from Sir Philip Burne-Jones, Bart., on the inadequate drainage in London. After briefly stating the inaction of the London County Council, the letter proceeds :—

“I need not enlarge, Sir, upon what this flooding involves. Hundreds of houses are inundated with a flood of filthy black water, thick with mud and sewage, which forces its way up through gullies and manholes and any apertures connecting the houses with the drains. **In the case of well-to-do people this causes huge inconvenience and much expense ; where their humbler neighbours are concerned, the effect is distressing and disastrous in the extreme.** I have this morning visited several basements in the poorer quarters of this neighbourhood ; and the sights which I have seen might well stimulate the London County Council to immediate and productive action of some sort, if it were only to provide additional relays of workmen, and so hasten the completion of the new pumping station in Lot’s Road. The community would, I think, be willing to dispense with the bands in the parks (for a few Sundays) as a contribution to any extra expenses incurred. **The soaking damp floors, the foul, stagnant sewer-steeped water lying in the areas of the little houses, presented a spectacle of desolation which it would be hard to match anywhere.** In one case, the fireplace itself was bulging out of its brick setting, having been loosened by the water. **A very little imagination will picture the indescribable details of discomfort**

and misery which would be caused by the sudden immersion of one's living room in several feet of reeking sewage water. During the past few days the destruction of property in this parish has been enormous; the danger to health is just as great. I have stated the bare facts, trusting that you, Sir, will give them publicity, and that by so doing the London County Council (who are primarily responsible for this indescribable misery) may be moved to do something more than talk and pass resolutions. Do not let them waste more time, even in defending themselves, but let them act; and even thus late in the day, after being in possession of the facts for 14 years without moving in the matter, let them devise a practical remedy for the evil at their doors, and thus justify their stewardship to the long-suffering ratepayers of the Metropolis."

The flooding of houses by sewage has greatly increased in the last few years. On October 17th, 1903, *The Times* contained the following:—

"THE FLOODING IN SOUTH LONDON.—At the Southwark Town Hall, a conference of delegates from the South London borough councils was held on Thursday, to consider the subject of the periodical flooding of houses and business premises. The Mayor of Southwark (Mr. T. Bryan), who presided, said that the question affected all the boroughs in South London, and it was a serious menace to the health of the people. In Southwark, for instance, the deaths from consumption numbered 500 annually, and it was out of the question to reduce that fearful rate when the subsoil of the district was rendered perennially damp. **Recently 2,000 houses were flooded with sewage, and tradesmen had large quantities of goods damaged.** Mr. Attenborough (Southwark) moved the appointment of a deputation to wait upon the London County Council, pointing out the serious danger to the health of the inhabitants of South London boroughs likely to arise from the periodical flooding of their premises with sewage, and to urge upon the Council the necessity of taking effective steps to deal with the question at the earliest possible date. The Mayor of Wandsworth seconded the motion. Lieutenant-Colonel W. Kent Lemon (Greenwich) advocated recourse to the Law Courts for a mandamus compelling the County Council to remedy the matter. The motion was carried. The Mayor of Wandsworth then moved:—‘That this conference advise the local councils to petition the Local Government Board to hold an inquiry into the serious neglect of the County Council to provide sufficient main drainage for London.’ Alderman the Rev. J. N. Anderson, in seconding the motion, said that the sewers were carrying 80 per cent. more sewage than they were built for, and were serving a population 50 per cent. greater

than they were intended to serve. He knew of two fever hospitals that had been flooded and their boiler fires extinguished, while in one some of the wards were flooded and the patients had to be carried out late at night. At present five wards in the hospital were not safe to be used. Eventually an amendment was carried agreeing to leave the question of an appeal to the Local Government Board until after the conference had waited upon the County Council."

On December 1st, 1903, the General Purposes Committee reported to the Council that:—

"Jointly with the Main Drainage Committee, they had received a deputation from South London borough councils which desired to press upon the Council the inadequacy of the main drainage system for dealing with storm water on the south side of the Thames, and urged that such steps as might be necessary should be taken to prevent a recurrence of floodings. The delegates were informed that their representations would receive the most careful consideration of the Council. The statements made by the deputation were now receiving the consideration of the Main Drainage Committee, who had for a considerable time been devoting their attention to the question of the means to be taken for the improvement of the main drainage system in the direction indicated by the deputation."

The report was received.

Sanitary Experts Condemn L.C.C.

On December 9th, 1903, Sir Benjamin Baker, K.C.M.G., LL.D., F.R.S., M.Inst.C.E., presided at a discussion held at the Sanitary Institute, Parkes Museum, on "The Flooding of Basements in London by Sewage."

"Dr. H. R. Kenwood, M.B., D.P.H., said he was not going to deny himself the luxury of criticism. **The dreadful and disgusting experience of the present year would have been spared if the County Council had acted before. It had required ten years, two reports, a mandamus, and threats to bring the Council before the Courts of Law, before it could make up its mind.** Fourteen years ago the County Council had this before them for eight months, and instructed the Main Drainage Committee to secure the services of an eminent civil engineer. Fourteen months afterwards (1891) Sir Benjamin Baker and Sir Alexander Binnie recommended new outfall sewers. Nothing was done for four and a-half years, when the Main Drainage Committee recommended that the work be carried

out. Two years afterwards, in response to a deputation, the engineer to the County Council was again instructed to report. This he did, and fifteen months afterwards work was recommended at a cost of one and a-half millions. At a conference of the leading boroughs on the north side of the Thames, six months afterwards, a resolution was passed placing on record surprise that, notwithstanding repeated reports that the existing sewer accommodation of the Metropolis was entirely inadequate, no attempt should be made to abate the nuisance. In December, 1899, the County Council approved the report of the Main Drainage Committee, **pronounced eight years previously to be of so urgent a character, but Mr. McDougall, as in 1895, moved an amendment that the scheme was not now necessary. The failure of the Council to deal promptly with the question endangered health by the flooding of dwellings, and led to a large amount of avoidable pollution.** In their own borough they were not under the impression that complaints were made in all instances, and on making a house-to-house inspection had been struck with the very large number of cases where basements had been flooded, and the people had made no complaint, recognising the hopelessness of doing so. **Wash-houses and underground bakehouses and cellars had been inundated, and carpets and goods were injured or spoiled, and deposit left over and under floors, endangering health.** They must all fully recognise the excellent work of the County Council, but found it difficult to realise why this work had so long been shelved, when other schemes had been dealt with. He would have preferred to have seen this great sanitary improvement carried out in precedence to many matters dealt with, such as the housing scheme, which furnished so modest a result, having regard to its costliness. The County Council, as a body, had only during the last few years fully recognised the importance of the work. **Under great pressure they made a display of being desirous of doing something by calling for successive reports.** They would not escape from criticism until they had taken hold of the work with both hands, and until the general public found remedied the disgraceful condition under which so many had been compelled to live for so many years.

“Mr. Councillor F. A. Dod, Stoke Newington, referred to the report presented to the London County Council in 1891. He said that body was responsible for the present state of things, and moved the following resolution:—‘That this meeting is of opinion that the flooding of London basements with sewage is a grave menace to public health, and regrets that this menace has been allowed to continue for so many years, owing to the neglect of the County Council. It urges upon that body to proceed with the work of making main sewers to relieve London of its present insanitary state.’”

“ Mr. Loveday seconded. He said that the County Council had done nothing apparently to increase the capacity of the sewers.

“ The Chairman said it had been proved that a large measure must be carried out. It would not in the least hurt the County Council, if they had behind them the pressure of the Sanitary Institute.

“ Mr. Fitzmaurice and Dr. Kenwood having replied, Councillor Dod’s resolution was carried as amended according to the suggestion of the Chairman. The amended resolution was :—
‘ That this meeting is of opinion that the flooding of London basements with sewage is a great menace to public health, and regrets that this menace has been allowed to continue for so many years. It requests the Council of the Institute to urge the London County Council to proceed with all possible expedition with the completion of the necessary work of the main sewers to relieve London from its present insanitary state.’”—*Local Government Journal*, December 19th, 1903.

Borough Councils Condemn L.C.C.

At a conference of Delegates from the Islington, Hackney, and Stoke Newington Borough Councils, held at Stoke Newington, on January 4th, 1904, a resolution was passed viewing “ with regret the delay of the L.C.C. in giving effect to their Engineers’ Reports of 1891 and 1899 and in grappling with the question.”

At Paddington Town Hall, on January 20th, 1904, a conference of delegates from [the Borough Councils of Fulham, Hammersmith, Hampstead, Islington, Kensington, Marylebone, Paddington and Stoke Newington, unanimously resolved that the conference “ viewed with alarm and regret the great delay of the London County Council in giving effect to their engineers’ reports of 1891 and 1899 dealing with the question of the main drainage of London.”—*Times*, January 21st, 1904.

The flooding of house property in London has continued right down to the present time. During the summer of 1906, floodings took place in many parts on the occasion of every thunderstorm.

It is estimated that the damage to property by floodings in London since 1891 (when the work ought to have been under-

taken by the London County Council) exceeds the probable cost of the sewerage works necessary to remedy the evil.

For the grave injury to public health, and the serious loss to the community caused by these filthy floods, the Progressives are solely responsible.

The Present Position.

The report of the Main Drainage Committee issued to the Council for the year ending March 31st, 1906, and numbered L.C.C. Report 10,712-12-14, 8, '06, contains on page 3 of the report the following paragraph with regard to the work done up to date :—

“ The payments on capital account up to March 31st, 1906, in connection with main drainage extension works and flood relief works, which, as stated on the previous page, are together **estimated to cost £4,795,000** are as follows :—

1900-1	..	..	..	..	..	£3,852	18	0
1901-2	..	..	..	..	..	82,783	4	9
1902-3	..	..	..	..	..	120,628	3	1
1903-4	..	..	..	..	..	135,179	2	10
1904-5	(including flood relief works, £1,861 : 7s. 10d.)					370,641	9	2
1905-6	(including flood relief works, £60,134 : 18s. 8d.)					521,185	19	11
Total						£1,234,270	17	9”

It will thus be seen that between the years 1900 and 1906, the total outlay has been £1,234,270 17s. 9d., whereas the estimate in connection with main drainage extension works and flood relief works approved in principle by the Council on December 5th, 1899, is no less than £4,795,000. It will thus be clear that this urgent work is scarcely more than a quarter on its way to completion. This after a lapse of six years. The reason for this is to be found in the L.C.C. Minutes for August 1st, 1905, as stated on page 933 in the report of the Finance Committee. The following is an extract from that report :—

“ The Council is already definitely committed to exceptional capital expenditure in these years, including the large outlay

that will be necessary for the electrification of the Northern tramways, and we feel that it would be most desirable, in the best financial interests of the Council, that in these years large expenditure under other heads should not, if possible, be incurred. We therefore view with some concern the possibility of the requirements for main drainage being increased to the extent indicated above. It has been represented to us that the works already completed, or now in progress, will be useless until further outlay is incurred for their completion, but we feel that is equally true of any work of such magnitude, and that with every desire to see the work completed as early as possible, the Council cannot afford to disregard the financial considerations involved.

“We are in communication with the Main Drainage Committee on this matter, and hope to be able to agree with them upon some scheme which we can recommend the Council to approve **by which not more than a certain sum will be spent on main drainage works during the next three years.** Meanwhile, we submit the estimates in respect of the contracts which the Main Drainage Committee desire now to enter into.”*

Thus the urgently required main drainage schemes and flood relief works have been admittedly postponed because of the general financial commitments of a spendthrift Council. We could have no clearer illustration of the fact that Progressivism does not only involve enormous expense, but is also responsible for the subordination of unattractive necessities to more showy but less important luxuries.

“The first consideration of a minister,” said the late Mr. Disraeli in 1872, “should be the health of the people.” The doctrines which Disraeli then enunciated were sneered at as “a policy of sewage,” a criticism which drew from him the reply, “Well, it may be the policy of sewage to Liberal Members of Parliament, but **to one of the labouring multitude of England who has found fever always to be one of the inmates of his household—who has, year after year, seen stricken down the children of his loins on whose sympathy and material support he has looked with hope and confidence, it is not a “policy of sewage,” but a question of life and death.**”

History, it is often truly said, repeats itself, and to-day we have the Progressive party on the L.C.C. subordinating the health of the people, and what should be one of its most important

* For more detailed particulars on this subject, c./ L.C.C. Annual Report, 1905-6, pages 195-201.

cares, to the various semi-Socialistic Municipal Trading schemes, the results of which are in most cases to impose a heavy financial burden upon the ratepayer of London.

It is this party which, in the face of so clearly proved an indictment charging them with neglecting the public health of the community, and especially of the poorer and working classes, has the effrontery to pose at election times as "the true friend of the working man!"

THE PLAGUE OF PROGRESSIVE M.P.'S.

"What is the cause of the defects we have at this moment? The cause at the present moment is that we have a large number of members of Parliament, who are also members of this Council."—(Mr. R. C. Phillimore, Progressive member for Deptford, speaking at the Council on October 23rd, 1906.)

The British Weekly, one of the leading Nonconformist organs, in an article on November 8th, 1906, entitled "Nothing is here for Tears," says :—

"EFFICIENCY.—Efficiency is a true Liberal watchword, and **the Progressives have sinned deeply against efficiency.** We need not just now adduce such instances as the Fulham scandal. Perhaps the Poplar evidence did more than anything to rouse the popular indignation. But we say that, apart from specific instances and the waste of money, the Progressives transgressed the first principles of efficiency by assuming to themselves work which no body of men can satisfactorily discharge. Their honesty is above suspicion. Their business ability is, perhaps, fair, and nothing more. **There are very few of them whom the ratepayers would trust to invest their little savings;** but there are also men of great business ability and signal devotion to the public weal. But everyone knows that in order satisfactorily to handle huge sums of money, and particularly in order to invest satisfactorily the money necessary for public works, we need men who can afford to give the time that is essential to detail. No member of the London County Council ought to have any other public work. If his duties on the Council are discharged satisfactorily, he will have no leisure for anything but his own private business, and very little for that. But **we have had of late the utterly scandalous**

spectacle of men combining their County Council work with a place in the House of Commons. The wave of Liberal revival has brought County Councillors into the House, and of this we do not complain. **What we complain of is that they do not abandon their work on the County Council, since it will not be contended by any human being that it is possible to fill the two positions satisfactorily.**

“But there is more to say than this. One would have imagined that the London County Council had enough to do. One would at least have imagined that a place in the London County Council as it used to be and in the House of Commons was enough for anyone. But the Progressives have added to their work the charge of the education of London! This in itself is a stupendous task, and at first it was confidently expected that the Progressives would represent to the House that they could not take it up. But it was taken, greedily taken, and, **of course, it has been mismanaged. The result has been that both the education of London and the municipal affairs of London are now administered by an army of officials.**”

It will, no doubt, always be desirable that there should be some London County Councillors in the House of Commons. It is convenient that the Member who is in charge of the Council's Private Bills in the House of Commons shall be himself a Councillor. And, for similar reasons, it is well that the views of each party on the Council should have their authoritative exponents in the House. But, with these limited exceptions, the broad proposition is true that the fewer Councillors who have seats in the House the better for the Council and the efficient conduct of its business, and unquestionably these few should represent Metropolitan, and not Provincial, divisions.

How does the Progressive Party conform to these obviously sound principles? It is difficult to realise that at this moment 29 Progressive Councillors are Members of the House of Commons, and of these, 12 sit for Provincial constituencies, and have constituents whose interests, political and local, are wholly diverse from those of their County Council electors.

It is interesting to examine the list. One Progressive is member for a dockyard town in the West of England, one sits for a Welsh County, one for a seaside pleasure town on

the South Coast, one for an inland watering-place, two represent English Agricultural Divisions, two Home Counties, one a Northern seaport, and, grossest anomaly of all, the great City of Glasgow in three of its Divisions has actually entrusted its representation to Progressive London Councillors.

Could there be a more glaring and indefensible example of the undertaking of dual and conflicting responsibilities than is afforded by this audacious attempt of Mr. Cleland, Sir A. M. Torrance, and Mr. McKinnon Wood, to serve both Glasgow and London? If they are to discharge adequately their duties as M.P.'s, they must give their time and thought, not only to Public Bills peculiar to Scotland and Scotch public questions which are distinct from current English problems, but also to all the local and municipal topics which concern a bustling commercial community. And they must keep in touch with eager populations 400 miles away from London. It is physically and mentally impossible for the same men to be grasping and absorbing these Scotch problems and interests, and discharging the large and complex administrative work of a London County Councillor. Nor does the scandal end here; it must further be remembered that all these 29 Parliamentarians are returned to the House of Commons as strict Party politicians, pledged to obey the Radical whips and to follow the Party leaders. What a sorry farce it is for them at the same time to pose as Municipal Progressives, and to pretend that their motto is the plausible but wholly delusive catch phrase "Progress, not Politics"!

The following is a List of the 29 Progressive Members of the L.C.C. who have seats in the House of Commons :—

NAME OF COUNCILLOR.	PARLIAMENTARY CONSTITUENCY.	L.C.C. CONSTITUENCY.
A. A. Allen ..	Christchurch ..	Bermondsey.
J. A. Baker ..	E. Finsbury ..	E. Finsbury.
Sir J. W. Benn ..	Devonport ..	Kennington.
C. W. Bowerman ..	Deptford ..	Alderman.
J. Branch ..	Middlesex, Enfield..	S.W. Bethnal Green.
Rt. Hon. J. Burns	Battersea ..	Battersea.

C. G. Clarke	..	Camberwell, Peck-	Peckham.
		ham.	
J. W. Cleland	..	Glasgow, Bridgeton.	Lewisham.
S. Collins	..	Lambeth, Kenning-	Kennington.
		ton.	
Sir W. J. Collins	..	W. St. Pancras	.. W. St. Pancras.
Sir E. A. Cornwall.		N.E. Bethnal Green	N.E. Bethnal Green.
W. Crooks	..	Woolwich	.. Poplar.
T. Davies	..	Fulham	.. Fulham.
W. H. Dickinson	..	N. St. Pancras	.. Alderman.
G. A. Hardy	..	N.W. Suffolk	.. Dulwich.
E. J. Horniman	..	Chelsea	.. Chelsea.
T. H. W. Idris	..	Flint District	.. E. St. Pancras.
R. S. Jackson	..	Greenwich	.. Greenwich.
T. B. Napier	..	N.E. Kent	.. N. Islington.
G. H. Radford	..	E. Islington	.. W. Islington.
J. E. Sears	..	Cheltenham	.. N. Hackney.
W. C. Steadman	..	Central Finsbury	.. Stepney.
B. S. Straus	..	Tower Hamlets, Mile	Mile End.
		End.	
J. Stuart	..	Sunderland	.. Haggerston.
Sir A. M. Torrance		Central Glasgow	.. E. Islington.
F. W. Verney	..	N. Bucks	.. Peckham.
D. S. Waterlow	..	N. Islington	.. N. St. Pancras.
T. Wiles	..	S. St. Pancras	.. S.W. Bethnal Green.
T. McKinnon Wood		Glasgow, St. Rollox	Central Hackney.

THE MUNICIPAL REFORM PARTY AND THE NON- CONTENTIOUS WORK OF THE COUNCIL.

It is a favourite device of Progressive speakers to expatiate upon the details of the ordinary administrative work of one of the wholly non-contentious departments of the Council; to dilate upon the importance of this work, and upon the careful and conscientious way in which it is executed; and then to take all the credit of it to the Progressive Party. For example, they say, look how well the County Council Parks are managed; see how our inspectors are checking the use of false weights and measures; observe how many prizes and certificates the Technical Education Board is distributing to your children; therefore vote for the Progressive candidates.

The Municipal Reform Policy.

In this connection, the following paragraph from the Municipal Reform Manifesto, dated December 4th, 1906, defines the attitude of the Municipal Reform Party in regard to General Policy:—

“Matters like the provision of an efficient Fire Brigade, Parks, Open Spaces, and Main Drainage have never been in issue between the Parties, and will, of course, claim the vigilant attention of the Municipal Reformers. Nor will they be found wanting in zeal in regard to the effective administration of the important laws with regard to public health, weights and measures, food inspection, and asylums.

“ But while these are common ground to both Parties, we confidently appeal to London ratepayers not to trust any longer the Progressive Party, with its wild and visionary Socialistic schemes adding burden upon burden to the over-weighted ratepayer. We appeal to them to place their confidence in the new Party of Municipal Reformers, who, if, on account of the enormous commitments of the Progressive Party, are unable to reduce the present rates, will, at all events, call a halt to future expenditure of a reckless and unremunerative character, will avoid Socialistic and municipal trading experiments, and give their time and energies to the detailed work of sober and common-sense administration of the vast powers entrusted to them for the good of the Capital of the Empire.”

Progressive Electioneering.

In reality there can be no more misleading chain of reasoning than that indicated above, and which is invariably put forward by the Progressive Party at election times; there can be no conclusion less justified by the facts.

Let us examine the history of the parks and open spaces now vested in the Council, and see how their management is actually carried on.

As regards the acquisition of new parks and open spaces, all Parties and all individuals on the Council have been equally zealous. But of the whole area, amounting to some 5,000 acres, which is now in the hands of the Council, it must be remembered that considerably more than half that acreage had been acquired by the old Metropolitan Board of Works, and was transferred from it to the County Council.

For example, the Annual Report of the Council for the year ended March 31st, 1906, states (page 202) :—

“ Number and area of places maintained by the Council.

“ On March 31st, 1906, the number of parks, gardens, and open spaces vested in or maintained by the Council was 109, the total area being 4,959 acres. These figures represent an increase of 69 in the number of places and 2,303 in the number of acres of land acquired and maintained by the Council since it came into existence in 1889.”

It must also be remembered that as regards the cost of the acquisition of new open spaces, the Council only makes a contribution to the total purchase price. In many instances,

large sums have also been supplied by local bodies and by individual benefactors.

Thus, in the case of Brockwell Park, the cost of the acquisition was in all about £120,000. Towards this the County Council contributed £61,000, the Charity Commissioners gave £25,000, the Lambeth Vestry £20,000, the Camberwell Vestry £6,000, the Newington Vestry £5,000, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners £500, and private donors the remainder.

In the case of the Postmen's Park, the cost of acquisition was about £12,000. To this the Postmaster-General gave £5,000, City Parochial Foundation £1,000, City Commissioners of Sewers £2,500, public subscriptions £1,800, Metropolitan Public Gardens Association £500, the City Corporation £500, and the County Council £500.

In the case of one of the most beautiful of the gardens that have been of recent years obtained for London's use, viz., Golder's Hill, the total cost of acquisition was about £41,000. Towards this the London County Council gave £12,000, while amongst other bodies the Hampstead Vestry gave £10,000, the Marylebone and St. Pancras Vestries £1,000 each, North St. Pancras £1,000, the City Parochial Charities £1,000, and some £14,000 was collected from private subscribers.

In the case of Eltham Park, 41½ acres, the Council voted £4,675; the Woolwich Borough Council contributing one-half of the purchase-money and costs.

Fulham Park.—The Council contributed £12,000 towards the cost (estimated at £16,957 10s.) of embanking and laying out 8½ acres of land, known as Fielder's Meadow, which had been presented by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to the Council of the Metropolitan Borough of Fulham, for addition to Fulham Park. The London County Council had previously contributed £17,500 towards the cost of other portions of this park. The total cost of the park amounted to £52,202 10s.; the Council's contribution is £29,500, but in agreeing to make this large contribution the Council had in mind the fact that the Borough Council will bear in perpetuity the cost of maintaining the park.

Ruskin Park, Denmark Hill (24 acres).—The Council on April 11th, 1905, on the recommendation of the Parks Committee, decided to contribute £25,000 towards the purchase of this property. The purchase-money was £48,000, towards which the Camberwell Metropolitan Borough Council promised to contribute £10,000, the Lambeth Metropolitan Borough Council £5,000, and the Southwark Metropolitan Borough Council £2,500, the balance being obtained from private sources.

Springfield Park, Clapton.—This park, consisting of 32½ acres, was acquired in September, 1904, at a cost of £40,000, towards which sum the Council contributed £20,000, and the Councils of the Metropolitan Boroughs of Hackney, Stoke Newington, and Bethnal Green £15,000, £1,000, and £250 respectively.

It is true that the subsequent maintenance of nearly all these parks and gardens is borne by the County Council, and that they are managed by it. They are managed by and through its Parks Committee. This Committee has always remained untainted by Party spirit. Councillors of all shades of political opinion have harmoniously co-operated upon it. Its chairmen have been chosen equally from either side. Its present chairman is Mr. Stuart Sankey, a member of the Moderate Party. On the Council as a whole, whenever any question has arisen as to the acquisition of a new open space, or as to the improvement or management of an existing one, the Moderates have ever displayed the most earnest desire to make this department of the Council's work an unquestionable success.

With regard to the carrying out of the provisions of the Weights and Measures Acts, even an electioneering Progressive can hardly pretend that his Party are entitled to any peculiar credit in this respect. Every Councillor is anxious to give effect to the beneficial provisions of the several Acts dealing with this subject, all of which were passed in Conservative and Unionist Parliaments, at the instance of Conservative and Unionist Ministers.

With regard to the uncontroversial branches of the Council's work, the true view, then, is this: The many useful powers of this kind which the Council exercises have, with hardly an exception, been the outcome of Conservative and Unionist legislation. The Municipal Reform Party wish to see the Council make use of these powers with zeal and vigilance. They ask their representatives on the Council to devote their time and energies to the efficient discharge of these—their proper duties—and not to waste them in futile attempts at impracticable legislation, or in the pursuit of Socialistic schemes.

It is to the Municipal Reformers, therefore, that the electors

can most confidently look for a careful and zealous execution of the administrative functions of the Council, and all electors who wish to see the existing laws well administered, and who are anxious that the Council, through them, should strive to make London a beautiful, convenient, and healthy city, must support the Municipal Reform in preference to the Progressive candidates.

The Council's Committees.

The following short account of the work of the Standing and other Committees of the Council shows the variety and extent of its powers, and the importance of the duties in the efficient discharge of which the Moderate Party have always taken a prominent part :—

The Asylums Committee.

Taking the Committees alphabetically, the first is the Asylums Committee. The County Lunatic Asylums are managed by the Council—Hanwell, Colney Hatch, Cane Hill, Claybury, Banstead, and Bexley. They are very large institutions, and are maintained by the Council. Lunacy is increasing so much in London that it is necessary to build one asylum every four years, or rather oftener. Probably the Council at the present time maintains many patients whom the workhouses used to take before. The Guardians are invariably glad to turn over to the Council persons who are weak in intellect, in order to put the expense of their keep on the county rate. The Asylums Committee is a Statutory Committee, and it exercises all the statutory powers under the Lunacy Act of 1890. The Committee has not only to build asylums, but it has to repair them, and make provision for resident physicians, chaplains, &c. It may also contract for its lunatics to be received in any other county if it cannot house them itself.

The Bridges Committee (now abolished).

The Bridges Committee was abolished in March, 1906, and its work delegated in part to the Highways Committee, and in part

to the Rivers Committee (*cf.* pp. 186 and 194 *infra*). Its reference was to the maintenance of the bridges that cross the Thames, ten in number. The City bridges are not under the control of the County Council. Blackfriars, and the bridges east of Blackfriars, are not under the County Council, but the bridges to the west are, and also bridges across the Lee, the Wandle, and over canals. And not only bridges over the Thames, but ways under the Thames, such as the Blackwall and Greenwich Tunnels, also the free ferry at Woolwich. In addition, this Committee maintained the Victoria, Albert, and Chelsea Embankments. There was also the exercise of powers under the Thames Prevention of Floods Management Act, looking after wharf-walls, and other matters.

The Building Act Committee.

The Building Act Committee controls the administration of the London Building Act, 1894, a control very obnoxious to Londoners. This Act concerns the County of London and consolidates and amends the law relating to streets and buildings in London. It contains provisions with respect to the formation and widening of streets; lines of building frontage; naming and numbering of houses; open spaces about buildings, and heights of buildings; construction of buildings; special and temporary buildings and wooden structures; dangerous and neglected structures; dwelling houses on low-lying land; and other matters. The Act also provides for the appointment of a superintending architect of Metropolitan buildings, and of district surveyors. It also provides for the constitution of a tribunal of appeal, to hear and determine appeals against the decisions of the Council and of the superintending architect in certain cases. Other duties include the examination of factories, with a view to requiring reasonable means of escape in case of fire; and licensing of sky-signs. It might be an excellent Act to apply if we were rebuilding London, but it is very irksome of application, especially in the City, where the houses are greatly congested, lanes narrow, and space extremely valuable, certain sections of the Act of 1894 do not, however, apply to the City.

The Committee also exercises the powers of the Council under the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, and the London Building Acts (Amendment) Act, 1905, as regards the provision of means of escape in case of fire from factories and workshops and other buildings.

The last Building (Amendment) Bill of 1905 went a great deal too far, and after spending a great deal of money in Parliament, and a great deal of time in the Council, the Bill was all withdrawn except the part which related to fire, viz., Part VII. The administration of the Building Acts mainly has to do with frontages, and with such matters as dangerous structures, the storing of timber, the prevention of obstructions in streets, the appointment of district surveyors, means of escape from fire, and similar matters.

The Education Committee.

This Committee came into existence as the result of the Education (London) Act, 1903, by which the L.C.C. became the local Education Authority for the County of London. The date of transfer under the Act was May 1st, 1904.

The Committee has control over all branches of education.

This subject is dealt with in a separate article (viz., Education), to which reference should be made.

The Establishment Committee.

A purely domestic Committee is called the Establishment Committee, which deals with matters connected with the staff of the Council, the maintenance of the County Hall, and so on. Owing to the steadily growing work of the Council, and the new branches of administration undertaken by the Council, the number of the staff is continually increasing. The Committee has to pay a great number of officials, and has the appointment of all except the Chief Officers and purely technical officers.

The Finance Committee.

The Finance Committee has charge of the raising of money, the consolidated rate, the sinking fund, the superannuation fund; and when a loan is needed, it has to negotiate with the Governor of the Bank of England, or some other financial authority in the City, to raise the necessary amount. This Committee also has to report to the Council upon all schemes which amount to over £5,000. It has to correlate expenditure and ascertain if it will fall within the estimates of the year, because one of the chief duties of the Finance Committee is to prepare the annual estimates. It does that with a certain amount of margin, a margin, say, of £500,000. The Council never draws all the money authorised in the Money Act, which is based upon the estimates. In the Money Bill the estimates are scheduled, and the authority of Parliament is required each year for it to pass.

The total expenditure of the Council under every head of service on both income and capital accounts during the year ended March 31st, 1906, was £14,722,500. This amount includes loans to other bodies, but excludes transfers between accounts and repayment of London County Bills.

For further particulars on this subject, *c/f.* the article, L.C.C. Finance, Part I.

The Fire Brigade Committee.

The Fire Brigade Committee controls, maintains, and manages the Metropolitan Fire Brigade, established in 1865. The staff consists of 1,382 officers and men. There are 77 land fire stations, in addition to a large number of smaller stations; 81 land steam fire engines, including 3 motor engines and 12 manual engines; 48 miles of hose, 73 horsed fire escapes, and 112 manual fire escapes. There were 316 horses, 1,177 fire alarms, and over 28,000 hydrants at the end of the year 1905.

The number of calls for fires or supposed fires received during the year 1905 was 5,676. Of these 1,285 proved to be calls for chimneys on fire, and 880 were false alarms. The remaining 3,511 were calls for fires, of which 64 were classed as

serious, and 3,447 as slight. Of the 3,511 fires, 1,297 were put out by persons not belonging to the brigade, 1,568 were extinguished by the use of buckets, hand-pumps, first aid appliances, &c., 519 by hydrants and stand-pipes, 91 by land steam fire-engines, and 2 by river fire-engines.

The "Morning Post" of January 2nd, 1907, states:—"During 1906 there were 3,271 fires in London, as compared with 3,511 in the previous year. A painful feature is the remarkable number of cases in which children lost their lives."

The General Purposes Committee.

The General Purposes Committee is a Committee formed of the Chairmen of the various Committees, with some other members, and is a general sort of advisory committee. Any new projects come before them. They also have the appointment of members of the Council to certain statutory bodies like the Thames Conservancy and the Water Board, to which the Council sends representatives. It also administers the Council's Superannuation and Provident Funds.

In addition, the Committee reports upon the methods of the administrative work of the Council; makes suggestions as to the Standing Orders and the work of the various committees; and reports to the Council on questions affecting the appointment, pay, duties, &c., of the chief officials. New duties delegated to the Council by Act of Parliament, or by order of any Government department, are considered and reported upon by this Committee.

The Highways Committee.

The Highways Committee does not administer highways generally. The only roads which the Council has are the Thames Embankment road, and some roads through the Council's parks. The Borough Councils maintain the streets. The chief reference to the Highways Committee is the tramways. The Council has electrified the South London tramways, and is in the course of electrifying the North London tramways. This subject is dealt with fully in the article entitled "Locomotion."

As regards all Tramways worked by the Council itself, which are called The London County Council Tramways, the Committee are authorised (A) to purchase horses and stores and other articles required, and to enter into contracts, and to order the seal of the Council to be affixed thereto; (B) to act, generally, on behalf of the Council in all matters regarding the undertaking; and (C) to incur such expenditure as may be necessary in connection with the maintenance and working of the undertaking. The Committee report from time to time what has been done under this authority; but have no power to incur expenditure on capital account without the express sanction of the Council.

This Committee is at present seeking to supply electricity in bulk, not only to London County, but to a very much larger area, a gigantic undertaking for which special commercial aptitude is the first essential. This subject is dealt with in the article entitled "The L.C.C. and the Supply of Electricity."

The Housing of the Working Classes Committee.

The Housing Committee administers the Housing of the Working Classes Acts, 1890 to 1903, including Parts I. and II. under the Act of 1890, which relate to the clearance of unhealthy areas. The Council has the control, maintenance, and management of these houses. Under Part III., it has built model lodging-houses of its own, and provided working-class dwellings. It has to provide statistics of the people who are displaced to the Local Government Board.

This subject is dealt with fully in the article entitled "The Housing of the Working Classes."

The Improvements Committee.

The Improvements Committee are charged with the consideration of all questions relating to Street Improvements in the County of London, and the carrying out of all street improvements authorised by Parliament.

The Committee has to do with schemes such as the Holborn to Strand improvement. It, also, has to enter into negotiations

with local authorities. If an improvement is wanted in the City or in a borough, the Council through this Committee has to negotiate, for which purpose they say, if they consider it is a county improvement, "We will make it, but what will you contribute? We will contribute one-third or some other proportion." The improvement is either made or not made, according to the reply. What has been done very much of late is that the Committee have said to the local authority, "Will you allow tramways down your street?" For instance, in Tottenham Court Road, the local authority said, "No, we do not want a tramway; this street is not suitable for tramways." Whereupon the Council retorted, "Then we cannot give you any improvement; if you will not have a tramway down your street, we will not improve the street." That is what was said to Kensington in regard to Silver Street. There is no tramway on the Bayswater Road, and there is no tramway on the Hammersmith Road, and yet the Council wanted to make Kensington promise that they would consent to allow a tramway up Silver Street to connect two main roads, on neither of which was there a tramway. Kensington said they did not want a tramway, as it would lower the rateable value of the houses in the neighbourhood by one-half.

After an improvement is made, there are surplus lands to sell or lease for the purpose of recoupment, to which the Improvements Committee has to attend. Licensed houses are always extinguished, whatever the cost, although this might be effected under the Licensing Act, 1904, without any cost to the rates.

Local Government, Records, and Museums Committee.

The following subjects come under the consideration of this Committee:—

The systems of local taxation and local government in London and matters connected with Imperial and local taxation which affect London; alterations or readjustments of county and other boundaries and of county representation; the division of Parliamentary boroughs and divisions and county electoral divisions into polling districts for the purposes of Parliamentary

and County Council elections respectively ; all questions relating to the assessment of property for rating ; questions relating to the election of County Councillors, Guardians of the Poor, and Metropolitan Borough Councillors ; the registration of electors ; the framing of by-laws under the Municipal Corporations Act, 1882, and the Local Government Act, 1888, for the good rule and government of the county ; questions affecting the relations between the Council and the authorities of local government areas outside the County of London ; and questions, not specifically referred to any other committee, arising between the Council and local, public, and other authorities, or which appear to relate to London government generally.

The Committee issue every year a serial volume of "London Statistics," and also a "Statistical Abstract for London." The Council has also referred the London Government Act, 1899, to the Committee, with authority to deal with such matters arising thereon as they may deem expedient.

In addition to the above-mentioned duties, the Council has referred to the Committee:—The consideration of all general questions relating to public charities and public endowments in London ; the consideration of questions relating to historic buildings and sites, monuments and subjects of antiquarian interest in London, including matters relating to the acquisition and maintenance of buildings of historic interest and works of art in London. There were also placed under the Committee's charge matters relating to the naming of streets and the numbering of houses

The Main Drainage Committee.

The Committee are entrusted with the consideration of all questions relating to, and with the control of, all property of the Council acquired for the purposes of, the main drainage of London and the treatment and disposal of sewage. All works connected with the main drainage and sewerage of London are carried out under the direction of the Committee, to whom are submitted all applications for the consent of the Council to the construction, abandonment, extension, or alteration of local sewers.

The Committee also prepare the schedules and obtain tenders for coal and coke supplied to the several offices, schools, works, &c., under the control of the Council, with the exception of the lunatic asylums and the Greenwich electricity generating station, and consider all questions relating to such supply.

The total amount of sewage treated during the year 1905-6 was nearly 95 billions of gallons, and the weight of sludge sent to sea was 2,566,000 tons.

The Committee has outfalls at Crossness and Barking, several pumping stations, sewage precipitation works, and sludge vessels. The Council took them over from the Metropolitan Board of Works.

This subject is fully dealt with in the article on Main Drainage, Vol. I.

The Parks and Open Spaces Committee.

Next there is the Parks and Open Spaces Committee, which provides and maintains the parks and open spaces for London, other than the Royal Parks, which are maintained from the Imperial Exchequer, and other open spaces maintained by the City Corporation and by Metropolitan Borough Councils. It maintains 110 open spaces—some of them very small—ranging from one-seventh of an acre (a churchyard in the East End) to areas like Hainault Forest, Hampstead Heath, Victoria Park, Battersea Park, Waterlow Park, or Wormwood Scrubbs, the first-named of which comprises 800 acres. The total area now amounts to 4,959 acres. These figures represent an increase of 69 in the number of places and 2,303 in the number of acres of land acquired and maintained by the Council since it came into existence in 1889. It also provides and regulates boating, gymnasia, and games of all sorts, entailing a staff of some 1,100 persons. Besides that work, the Committee provides bands of music, which play in the various open spaces daily throughout the summer. The total cost of maintenance of parks and open spaces is about £118,000 a year. This Committee also administers the Wild Bird Protection Act so far as London goes, and also the Disused Burial Grounds Act.

The Parliamentary Committee.

The reference from the Council entrusts the Committee with the promotion of such Bills (both public and private) as the Council may resolve to introduce into Parliament, and with the duty of considering and reporting upon all Bills (both public and private) and Provisional Orders affecting the County of London, and of taking such action in relation thereto as the Council may authorise.

The Parliamentary business administered by the Parliamentary Committee costs a great deal of money, because the Council persistently opposes everybody's Bills.

For instance, if the London and North Western Railway wants to make a branch railway in the Lake District, the Council opposes it because it affords a lever for urging the further provision of workmen's trains. Workmen's trains, of course, do not pay the company, and it really is blackmail on the company's shareholders when forced to provide a service which does not pay, as the price of the L.C.C. not opposing certain perfectly innocuous powers to which they do not object in the least. The Parliamentary Committee is executive, and does not initiate or oppose private Bills without the instruction of the Council or one of its Committees.

The Public Control Committee.

The Public Control Committee deals with Acts such as the Explosives Acts, Petroleum Acts, Infant Life Protection Act, Shop Hours Acts, Gas Testing, Employment Agencies, Motor Cars, Coroners, and the Inebriates Act. They maintain a large asylum, with extensive grounds, in Surrey, for female inebriates. It is also the Executive Committee in respect of the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts.

Weights and Measures Acts.—A staff of 93 inspectors, &c., is employed in carrying out these Acts. During the year ending March 31st, 1906, the number of weighing appliances and machines dealt with was 2,189,991, of which 348,329 were rejected as unfit for stamping. The total number of offences

specially reported was 593. Legal proceedings were taken in 186 cases, and 170 convictions were obtained.

Sale of Coal.—In connection with the sale of coal for the year ended March 31st, 1906, 530 offences were discovered. In 26 cases legal proceedings were taken, in 25 of which convictions were obtained.

Bread Act.—The Act relating to the sale of bread requires that all bread shall be sold by weight; 96 offences have been reported by the inspectors during the year ending March 31st, 1906; 16 persons were cautioned in writing by the Council, and 80 prosecuted. Convictions were obtained in 77 cases.

Infant Life Protection Act, 1897.—During the year ended March 31st, 1906, the Council's women inspectors paid 3,504 visits to 388 houses, and 1,167 infants came under inspection.

The Council also has certain statutory powers under the Employment of Children Act, 1903.

The Shop Hours Act, 1904, of which Lord Avebury was the author.—The Council has appointed six male inspectors and three women inspectors under the Shop Hours Acts, and the result of their work during the year ended March 31st, 1906, was as follows:—

Premises visited.			Nature of infringements.				
No. of inspections.	Inspections at premises where young persons were employed.	Premises where infringements were discovered.	Excess hours only.		Excess hours and no notice.		Notice not exhibited.
			80 hours and under.	Over 80 hours.	80 hours and under.	Over 80 hours.	
109,999	26,653	6,966	155	55	200	41	6,515

There were 250 more irregularities discovered than in the previous year. Cautions in writing were sent in 425 cases, and legal proceedings were instituted in 34 cases, in 29 of which convictions were obtained.

Seats for Shop Assistants Act, 1899.—During the year ending March 31st, 1906, there were 13,755 shops affected by the Seats

for Shop Assistants Act ; and 35,690 females were found to be employed in these shops. At 13,566 premises sufficient seating accommodation had been provided, but at the remaining 189 this was found not to be the case. It was not found necessary in any instance to take legal proceedings, but many cautions in writing were sent, and these were always successful in securing observance of the provisions of the Act.

Smoke Consumption.—During the year ending March 31st, 1906, a number of infringements of the Public Health Act, 1891, were reported by the police and also by the Council's own officers, and particulars of 554 cases of smoke nuisance were communicated to the sanitary authorities for the districts concerned, with a view to their taking steps for the suppression of the nuisance.

In a number of cases summonses were taken out by the sanitary authorities, and the Council's officers gave evidence in support of the proceedings. In some cases orders were obtained for the abatement of the nuisance, and in others penalties were inflicted by the magistrates. So far as the Council was able to ascertain, legal proceedings were taken during the year in 49 cases, in 47 of which convictions were obtained.

Petroleum Acts.—During the year ending March 31st, 1906, 1,513 licenses to keep petroleum were issued ; 14,821 inspections were made ; 275 oil wharves visited, and test samples taken ; 109 infringements of the Acts were reported ; in 10 cases legal proceedings were taken, in 8 of which convictions were obtained.

Markets.—Although not the market authority for London, the Council is authorised to prosecute and to conduct inquiries and negotiations relative to such existing markets and market rights as are not the property of, or under the control of, the City Corporation, the expediency of establishing new markets in or near the administrative County of London and the matters relative or incidental thereto. In addition to the principal markets, the unauthorised street markets have been inquired into by the Committee. The existence of these street markets, although sometimes a nuisance to their neighbourhood, supply a great want in the shape of cheap food to the poorer classes.

The Public Health Committee.

The Public Health Committee administers the Public Health (London) Act, 1891, looks after common lodging-houses by virtue of the Common Lodging-houses Acts, 1851 and 1853, licenses slaughter-houses, and appoints various officials. The Public Health Committee keeps an eye on sanitation as administered by the Borough Councils, and can, and does, interfere if a Borough Council does not do its work well. If for some reason or another a Borough Council is remiss in putting in force some sanitary regulation, the County Council may remedy its remissness.

The Rivers Committee.

This Committee consists of six representatives of the Council on the Thames Conservancy Board, and two representatives on the Lee Conservancy Board, and seven other members added to the two Boards by the Council.

The Committee has to advise the Council upon matters affecting the administration of the Port of London, the sanitary condition of the Thames, and the service of steamboats established by the Council upon that river. The Committee has control of all piers, land, buildings, machinery, steamboats, and other property of the Council acquired for the purposes of the steamboat service. There are also matters arising out of the conservancy of the river Lee, especially as to the discharge of sewage into the river, and the quantity of water which flows from the river into the Thames. All questions relating to the Dock Companies Acts are also included in the reference to the Committee.

The Council also decided on March 13th, 1906, that the Bridges Committee should not be re-appointed, and that certain work under the control of that Committee should be transferred to the Rivers Committee. The work transferred includes all questions relating to the maintenance of the free ferry across the Thames at Woolwich, and the powers of the Council under the Metropolis Management (Thames River Prevention of Floods) Amendment Act, 1879, with the supervision of all

wharf walls and other works constructed under the provisions of that Act.

The L.C.C. Steamboat Service is dealt with in a special article under this title.

The Stores Committee.

This Committee prepares the schedules and considers tenders for all goods (except coal and office stationery) supplied to the Council. The various departments estimate annually the quantity and description of stores needed. These are then classified, and tenders invited. The Committee carefully considers the tenders received, and recommends the most favourable to the Council for acceptance.

Theatres and Music Halls Committee.

The duties of this Committee, which also sits from time to time as the Licensing Committee, are (A) to hear all applications for the licensing of places for music or music and dancing within the County of London, and also for the licensing for stage plays of places within the County but outside the jurisdiction of the Lord Chamberlain, and to report thereon to the Council ; (B) To consider and report to the Council upon all questions arising out of or connected with the Metropolis Management and Building Acts Amendment Act, 1878, relating to theatres, music halls, and other places of public entertainment ; and the Section of the Metropolitan Board of Works (Various Powers) Act, 1882, relating to the keeping open of the means of exit from such buildings.

There have been extravagances on the part of Progressive members in regard to the character of entertainments, but on the whole the control of the music halls and theatres has been good, especially with regard to the regulations against fire, and abolition of drinks in the auditorium.

The Works Committee.

The Works Department is under the control of the Works Committee.

This subject is fully dealt with in the article entitled "The Works Department," so far as it is possible to obtain information in regard to a Committee which is exclusively formed of Progressive members of the Council, and to which the Moderates have been denied access.

The functions of the Committee are set out on page 19 of that article.

POWERS AND DUTIES OF CENTRAL AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES.

Progressive Plot to Destroy Local Government.

For the past 17 years, the Progressive Party on the L.C.C. has done its utmost, by a course of the most reckless expenditure, to wreck the prosperity of London.

The squandering of the money of the people by the Progressives generally, on the various local authorities, has caused the average total rate in London to rise by over 2s. 3d. in the £ since 1890, *i.e.*, from 5s. 2½d. in 1890 to 7s. 6d. in 1906, and has compelled large employers of labour to take their works out of London, and, at the same time, has prevented other manufacturers from erecting works within the London rateable area. In this way the Progressive Party has done much towards reducing employment for the working classes, and must be rightly held responsible for much of the present lack of employment in London.

To complete the "wrecking" policy, the Progressives once more come forward with a plan by which they hope to get the whole of the government of London into the hands of the Progressive majority on the L.C.C. They propose to destroy the Borough Councils and, in practice, to abolish local government altogether. This they propose to do under the plausible pretext of facilitating a large extension in the equalisation of rates.

The wrecking of the Borough Councils, as intended by the Progressive Party, would be a standing disgrace to all citizens who believe in the rights of self-government.

If the Progressives are returned to power, and they are successful in their attempt to destroy local control of local affairs, the people of London can look forward with certainty to a further large increase in the rates, which under Progressive rule are already far too heavy. Progressivism and extravagance, as experience has clearly demonstrated, go hand in hand. On the ground of economical administration, if for no other reason, the ratepayers ought to put an end to Progressive rule.

The L.C.C. rate has risen by 4½d. in the £ since that body came into existence, *i.e.*, from 12½d. in 1889-90 to 17d. in 1906-7, and this despite the very large increase in assessments, coupled with the enormous increase in the debt of London. Since the L.C.C. took over the Education of London, in 1904, the Education rate has risen by 4d. in the £, according to Lord Welby (*c.f.* L.C.C. Finance, Part I., Vol. II. of Handbook).

What, then, but similar increases can the people of London expect if the Borough Councils, with their present Municipal Reform majorities, are abolished?

The abolition of the Borough Councils would mean the neglect of local wants and the centralisation of London government. Officialism would become still more rampant, and instead of being governed by their own elected representatives, the people of London would be under the rule of paid officials. Unless the ratepayers at the coming L.C.C. elections crush this attempt to stifle the free expression of public opinion, they will lose the privilege of having a voice in the management of their own affairs, and will be instrumental in placing London under the absolute control of a bureaucracy.

Report of the Royal Commission, 1894.

A Royal Commission was appointed by the Radical Government to consider the amalgamation of the City and the County of London.

The Report of this Commission was issued on September 29th, 1894, as a Blue Book (Cd. 7,493 of 1894). The Report dealt with the relation of central to local government, and stated that "a consideration of the evidence we have received confirms the opinion suggested by the course of previous inquiries and

of legislation—or, in other words, by the historic development of the Metropolis—that the government of London must be entrusted to one body, exercising certain functions throughout all the areas covered by the name, and to a number of local bodies exercising certain other functions within the local areas which collectively make up London, the central body and the local bodies deriving their authority as representative bodies by direct election, and the functions assigned to each being determined so as to secure complete independence and responsibility to every member of the system ” (para. 22).

This double aspect of unity and separability having been accorded general acceptance, “any controversy that remains,” said the Report, “turns upon the partition of powers between this central and these local bodies.”

The principle laid down in the Report was this: “We think it important, for the sake of the dignity and usefulness of the local bodies, whose status should be enhanced as much as possible, as well as for the sake of the central body—where, a continuous increase of work may be expected, requiring relief from needless administrative detail—that **no duties shall be thrown upon the central body that can be equally well performed by the local authorities** ” (para 106).

This was the policy embodied by the Unionist Government in the measure passed in 1899.

As the Right Hon. J. Chamberlain, M.P., speaking at Birmingham on November 23rd, 1897, said :—

“We hope to complete, according to the original intention, the municipal organisation of London. The London County Council was created by a Conservative Government. . . . But the County Council of London, even if it were composed entirely of archangels, would be unable to deal with the municipal details of that vast constituency. Why, **the very essence and value of municipal government is that it is near to the People, that it is in close touch with them, that you know who your representatives are, and that they know what your wants and your requirements are;** and that is impossible as long as one body sitting in a central place pretends to deal, let us say, with the drainage of every house of five millions of people. And therefore it is absolutely necessary, and it was always intended, that, while the County

Council should deal with matters which are common to the whole of the Metropolitan area, separate municipalities should be created for the separate towns which go to form the great cities of London. There is no necessity why these municipal privileges should be forced upon any one of these towns, but **for the life of me I cannot see why Westminster, why Islington, why Kensington—all of them places as large, or nearly as large, as Birmingham—should not, if they wish, have the right to apply for, and the right to receive, the same municipal privileges as we enjoy.** I am quite certain that until they get them the health and the comfort and the enjoyment of the people of London will not be properly cared for.”—*The Times*, November 24th, 1897.

The Commissioners further suggested that “it might be well, in any legislation, to provide some machinery for such a repartition of functions between the central and local authorities as experience might prove desirable, without having recourse to Parliament in each particular case” (para. 107). In developing this principle the Commissioners thought that “everything should be done to maintain the strength, authority, and dignity of the local bodies of London.”

The London Government Act, 1899.

The London Government Act of 1899, passed at the instance of a Unionist Government, established the Borough Councils, transferred certain powers from the London County Council to the Boroughs, and provided machinery for a future transfer of duties when rendered necessary by the overburdened state of the central body.

The following summary of the provisions of this Act, by means of which the Unionist Government have given the Metropolis a complete system of municipal government on the basis of popular representation, is compiled from an article in *The Times* of October 13th, 1899, by the Editor of “Chitty’s Statutes of Practical Utility.”

THE BOROUGHs.

The Act divides the whole of the administrative County of London, exclusive of the City, into 28 boroughs, as substitutes

for nearly 100 vestries and other boards, naming as "areas which are to be boroughs" 15 whole parishes and 13 composite areas.

THE COUNCILS.

For each of the boroughs so formed, an Order in Council establishes a separate Council, consisting of a mayor, aldermen, and councillors. The number of aldermen is one-sixth of the number of councillors, the total number of aldermen and councillors in no case exceeding 70.

POWERS OF BOROUGH COUNCILS.

All powers, duties, property, and liability of each existing vestry and district board are transferred to the Council of the borough comprising the area within the jurisdiction of such vestry and district board, the Borough Councils succeeding such vestries and boards just as the County Council succeeded the Metropolitan Board of Works. There are transferred the powers of the County Council as to the licensing wooden structures and removal of unauthorised sky-signs and of street obstructions, and as to registering dairymen; and the Borough Councils obtain jurisdiction as to the demolition of buildings erected and proceedings in respect of timber stacked in contravention of the Building Act, as to procuring traffic facilities by order of the Railway and Canal Commission from railway or canal companies, as to acquiring land, and as to making by-laws for the good rule and government of the borough and for the prevention and suppression of nuisances not already punishable in a summary way by statute throughout the borough. Main roads and roadways of bridges also come under the management of the Councils, and the power to stop up streets taken over from the vestries does not require the sanction of the County Council. The Borough Councils also have wide powers under the Housing of the Working Classes Acts. A most important power is that of promoting and opposing Bills in Parliament and of prosecuting or defending any legal proceedings, when necessary, in the general interests of the borough.

Section 5, Subsection 3, of the Act of 1899, enacts that:

“The Local Government Board may, if they think fit, on the application of the London County Council and of the majority of the Borough Councils, make a Provisional Order for transferring to all the Borough Councils any power exercisable by the County Council, or for transferring to the County Council any power exercisable by the Borough Councils.”

The Act of 1899 also simplified the complicated rating systems of the Metropolis by providing that the expenses of a Borough Council are to be met out of one General Rate. The Progressives called this great measure of representative government, “The attack upon the London County Council.”

The untruth of such statements is evidenced by the fact that it was the Conservative and Unionist Party who brought about the reform of local government in 1888, not only in London, but throughout the whole of England and Wales, and who subsequently extended it to Ireland, in 1898. London government is the creation of the Unionist Party, to whom belongs the entire credit of it.

Radical Approval of the Act of 1899.

The Act of 1899 was in no way carried by Party pressure, but met with approbation from both political Parties.

On July 14th, 1899, *London*, the Radical and Progressive organ, stated :—

“ This reform, with the important changes made in it during its passage through Parliament, makes a great advance. It will make for better local government. It will add new dignities to municipal life. The unity of local administration which will follow will be welcomed. The reduction in the number of members will lead to more business-like proceedings. The amalgamation of the smaller areas will end petty parochialism, with all its little scandals and personalities. The objectionable elements about vestrydom which have led local government in London to be misunderstood will disappear with the boroughs. . . . ”

In the House of Lords, on the second reading of the Bill, June 20th, 1899, the late Earl of Kimberley, the leader of the Liberal Party in the House of Lords, said :—

“I have little fault to find with the Bill. . . . As a whole, the Bill is one of great moment to the inhabitants of the

s the administrative powers and duties of the L.C.C. and the Metropolitan

EDUCATIONAL SERVICES.	TRANSIT AND EXCHANGE SERVICES	SUPPLY SERVICES.
<p>ation (including *indus- al and reformatory ools, and care of defec- e children).</p> <p>iman Museum.</p> <p>eristy of London (ap- ntment of two members Senate).</p> <p>intment to bodies of nagers of public elemen- y schools.</p> <p>e libraries, art galleries, l museums—Provision.</p>	<p>*Bridges — Provision, maintenance, and regulation.</p> <p>Ferry—Provision and working of Woolwich Ferry.</p> <p>Steamboats upon Thames—Pro- vision and working.</p> <p>Streets—*Improvements, nomencla- ture—embankments, &c.</p> <p>Traffic—Motor cars registration and regulation, &c.</p> <p>*Tramways and light railways— Making and working where statu- tory authority has been obtained.</p> <p>Tunnels—Thames tunnels—Making and maintaining where statutory authority has been obtained.</p> <p>*Bridges (minor)—Provision, main- tenance, and regulation.</p> <p>*Streets—Making, paving, cleansing, lighting, &c.</p> <p>*Streets—Minor improvements.</p> <p>*Tramways veto.</p>	<p>Electricity —Supply to small specified areas and *meter testing.</p> <p>*Gas and gas meter test- ing.</p> <p>Water—Some powers of control.</p> <p>*Electricity supply (if authorised).</p>

&c., and its financial powers in connection with the Exchequer Contribution Account,

The following table, extracted from "London Statistics," volume 16, 1905-6, published by the Statistical Department of the L.C.C., page 6, shows the administrative powers and duties of the L.C.C. and the Metropolitan Borough Councils respectively:—

Authority.	PUBLIC ASSISTANCE.	HEALTH SERVICES.	REGULATIVE SERVICES.	PROTECTIVE SERVICES.	EDUCATIONAL SERVICES.	TRANSIT AND EXCHANGE SERVICES.	SUPPLY SERVICES.
<p><i>London County Council (a).</i></p> <p>*Indicates a service which is administered within the City, by the City of London Corporation.</p>	<p>*Small dwellings acquisition.</p> <p>Small holdings.</p> <p>Emigration assistance.</p>	<p>*Clearance of insanitary areas and housing of the working classes.</p> <p>*Diseases of animals—Prevention of spread of.</p> <p>Drainage (main), and regulation of local drainage in the county.</p> <p>*Infant life protection.</p> <p>Lodging houses control.</p> <p>*Lunatics and melancholics—Care of.</p> <p>Midwives regulation.</p> <p>*Offensive trades, nuisances, and dairies, &c.—By-laws.</p> <p>*Park and open spaces Provision and maintenance.</p>	<p>*Good rule and government—By-laws.</p> <p>*Labour regulation (employment of children, shop hours, and seats for assistants).</p> <p>Licensing of theatres and music halls and race-courses.</p> <p>Loans to local authorities—Sanitation and advance.</p> <p>Streets and buildings (general building regulations, &c.).</p> <p>*Trade regulation (petroleum and other explosives, weights and measures, &c.).</p> <p>Wild birds protection.</p>	<p>Crime (payment of costs of criminal prosecutions and Quarter Sessions).</p> <p>Fire (Fire Brigade and factory inspection).</p> <p>Floods (Thames floods prevention).</p> <p>*Inquests (appointment and payment of coroners, provision of courts, &c.).</p>	<p>Education (including *industrial and reformatory schools, and care of defective children).</p> <p>Horniman Museum.</p> <p>University of London (appointment of two members to Senate).</p>	<p>*Bridges—Provision, maintenance, and regulation.</p> <p>Ferry—Provision and working of Woolwich Ferry.</p> <p>Steamboats upon Thames Provision and working.</p> <p>Streets—*Improvements, nomenclature—embankments, &c.</p> <p>Traffic Motor cars registration and regulation, &c.</p> <p>*Tramways and light railways—Making and working where statutory authority has been obtained.</p> <p>Tunnels Thames tunnels—Making and maintaining where statutory authority has been obtained.</p>	<p>Electricity—Supply to small specified areas and *meter testing.</p> <p>*Gas and gas meter testing.</p> <p>Water—Some powers of control.</p>
<p><i>Metropolitan Borough Councils.</i></p> <p>*Indicates a service which is administered within the City, by the City of London Corporation.</p>	<p>Labour bureaux—Establishment and working.</p> <p>*Small dwellings acquisition.</p>	<p>*Pakehouses inspection.</p> <p>*Baths and wash-houses—Provision and management.</p> <p>*Burials—Provision for.</p> <p>*Clearance of small insanitary areas, closing of overcrowded and insanitary houses, and housing on a small scale.</p> <p>*Dairyman registration.</p> <p>*Damage (local) and public conveniences.</p> <p>*Medical officer and sanitary inspectors—Appointment and payment.</p> <p>*Offensive trades, nuisances, and dairies, &c.—Control.</p> <p>*Parks and open spaces (small)—Provision and maintenance.</p> <p>*Refuse removal and disposal.</p> <p>*Workshops—Control as to sanitation and overcrowding.</p>	<p>*Food and Drugs Acts—Administration.</p> <p>*Good rule and government—By-laws.</p> <p>*Smoke nuisance prevention.</p> <p>*Streets and buildings (licensing of wooden structures, regulation of sky signs, house demolition, timber stacking, &c.).</p>	<p>*Mutualities and post-mortem rooms—Provision.</p>	<p>*Appointment to bodies of managers of public elementary schools.</p> <p>*Public libraries, art galleries, and museums—Provision.</p>	<p>*Bridges (minor)—Provision, maintenance, and regulation.</p> <p>*Streets—Making, paving, cleansing, lighting, &c.</p> <p>*Streets—Minor improvements.</p> <p>*Tramways veto.</p>	<p>Electricity supply (at authorised).</p>

(a) The powers of the London County Council as set forth above exclude its general organising London government powers in connection with elections, boundaries, &c., and its financial powers in connection with the Exchequer Contribution Account, County Grants, and Equalisation Fund.

Metropolis. It is not an heroic measure, and may not seem to be of such great importance as some of the far-stretching political measures with which we have to deal; but **as regards the individual comfort of the inhabitants of this vast Metropolis, few Bills are of more importance than that now submitted to the consideration of your Lordships.**”—*The Times*, June 21st, 1899.

Reasons in favour of the Maintenance of the Borough Councils.

Since the Borough Councils were constituted by the London Government Act, 1899, they have shown a natural desire to carry out all duties in their own boroughs which are of a local as distinct from a central character.

It is also important from another point of view that this should be done: the County Council has already such an immense amount of work to do that it is most expedient that no further burden of work should be cast upon its members which could be as well done by the local authorities.

In fact, the Royal Commission which investigated the conditions of London government, expressly reported, in 1894, to that effect. Whilst retaining central duties or those common to the whole of the Metropolis, such as main drainage, fire brigade, parks, &c., to the County Council, the Commissioners went on to say that other duties of a local character might well be given to the Borough Councils.

Rightly enough, this is the proper municipal spirit, and ought to be encouraged by every possible legitimate means. It was always intended when the old Vestries were superseded by the Borough Councils, and vestrymen by mayor, aldermen and councillors, that new and further duties should be given to them. No doubt it was rightly thought that in order to attract men of good standing to the service of the new municipalities, it would be both politic and natural that further powers should be conferred upon the Borough Councils.

Yet, in spite of this testimony, the Progressive majority on the County Council have always exhibited a jealousy and distrust of the Borough Councils. Many aldermen and

councillors of the latter are men of greater ability and experience than a considerable number of those who, by strange accidents, find themselves elected to the London County Council, and yet these latter affect a lofty and superior air whenever a question as to which authority should undertake certain work has to be determined.

It is not too much to say that nearly all the Borough Councils have, not without reason, felt resentment at some time or other at the manner in which the London County Council treats them on various questions, and notably on the one of division of powers and duties. This is a most unfortunate state of affairs, and ought not to exist. There is plenty of room for both authorities to work side by side, each striving to do its own work in the best possible manner; and, further, the members ought to show that respect and regard for each other's work which the nature of the public duties they have undertaken imperatively demands.

It will thus be seen, from the foregoing table, how wide a field of work there is both for the central and local governing authorities of this great city.

The Progressive Policy.—Captain Hemphill on Enlarged Powers for the L.C.C.

In the *Daily Chronicle* of July 31st, 1906, Captain the Hon. F. Hemphill, L.C.C., the Progressive Chairman of the Highways Committee, and one of the leaders of that Party, outlined "a bold scheme." To quote the words of the article:—

"There seems to be two ways by which the necessary reform may be effected. The first is, to retain the present area of the County of London, and the Borough Councils, with the London County Council, doing away with all other authorities, and improving the centralisation of the work, so as to make the County Council the body which would equalise and control the administration all over London.

"The second plan, which is probably the preferable, is to enlarge the London County Council so that it practically becomes a new body altogether, and to extend the area of the County of London, so that it includes roughly an area of fifteen miles' radius from Charing Cross.

"The precise area," says Captain Hemphill, "is a little difficult to fix," but Greater London is suitable. "This area is defined in general terms as containing every parish the whole of which is within fifteen miles of Charing Cross, or any portion of which is within twelve miles of Charing Cross, and covers 692·84 square miles.

"The functions of the new Council would be to deal with all matters connected with its area, and to carry out the duties performed by the 72 bodies which it would supersede within the County of London, and of those bodies whose place it would take in Outer London. A Council of this size and importance would have many powers entrusted to it which the Houses of Parliament now exercise. If legislative powers in local affairs are to be granted to Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, the London area, in view of its population and wealth, will have at least equal claims to consideration.

"The number of this Council should be from 300 to 350. . . . It is probably desirable to disturb the present electoral divisions as little as possible. Therefore, in the County of London the present County Council divisions might be retained, and in Outer London either some present divisions might be used or the Parliamentary divisions might each furnish two Council divisions.

"If County Council electoral areas under 12,000 electors have, as at present, two members, electoral areas with 12,000 electors or over have four members, and electoral areas over 19,000 electors six members each, this would give 180 members for the County of London. One hundred members might be added for Outer London, which would be rather more than its share on the basis of population, but, having in view its much larger extent and probable increase of population, would be a fair proportion. Then twenty members from outside might be elected by the Council on the ground that they would be useful from their knowledge of special subjects or otherwise. For the same reasons, in the same manner, twenty women might be elected by the Council, which would bring the number up to 320. The number might be increased to 350, as the area of Outer London became more densely populated.

"BRANCHES OF THE COUNCIL.

"The London Council would no doubt follow the example of the London County Council, **and work by committees, which would report to the whole Council and be fully under its control.**

". . . In addition to the central administration, it would be necessary to secure local administration and control. The areas for local administration should not be too large, and would

probably be best formed by grouping from three to six Council electoral areas together as a unit. For each of these districts there should be a district committee, which would consist of the members of the Council for the district, together with an equal number of representatives elected at the same time as the Council members by the same electorate, with, if it is thought desirable to increase the number, a few members elected by the London Council.

"These district committees would be committees of the London Council, and while large local powers might be delegated to them, and could safely be entrusted to them, their decisions on important points would be subject to confirmation by the Council. A great deal of the work of the main committees would be worked out and localised by the district committees.

"Whatever may be the system eventually decided upon for the reform of London government, two things are essential: (1) that it should be done quickly, and (2) that it should be conceived upon a broad and statesmanlike plan. Local government in London is in a state of chaos and confusion. London has suffered from parochial administration long enough. Sheltered behind vestrydom and parochialism lie all those whose interests it is to make money for themselves and who do not regard the benefit of the community at all. From these comes the demand of company promoters and financiers to lease every department of municipal work that they may make a profit, not only for the profit, but in order that by curious transactions of finance and company promoting they may make an excessive profit, to the loss and disadvantage of the public."

Mr. Sidney Webb, L.C.C., on the Revolution in Local Government.

"Mr. Sidney Webb, who is generally credited with an acquaintance with the inner workings of the mind of the Cabinet with regard to London local government," says *The Morning Post* of October 8th, 1906, "lecturing on October 7th, 1906, at the Hatcham Liberal Club on 'The Coming Revolution in London Government,' advocated the extension of the boundaries of the area of the administrative County of London, and an increase in the number of its members. One of the reasons for urgency in the unification of the Metropolis was the need for the equalisation of the rates. **This central body, he contended, should take control of all matters of London government, including the relief of the poor, the carrying on of the business of the port of London, and London traffic.** He mentioned, too, the necessity for centralising the administration of the hospitals. With the larger central body there

would have to go a large scheme of devolution to local bodies, and to bodies appointed with large powers to deal with special subjects—but the central body must be the creature of the electors of the larger London, responsible to them directly, and always in their sight.

“Touching upon Poor Law administration Mr. Webb said that what had happened in connection with some of the Boards of Guardians had led people in other parts of London to the conclusion that they could not trust them with their money. He was sure that it was politically impossible to extract money from the West End for districts like Poplar, for instance, which, rightly or wrongly, had achieved a reputation for not managing their affairs as well as they might. It was not possible to continue much longer the thirty-one Boards of Guardians which at present existed in London—the situation was impossible. He laid great stress on public control, and as the people of London did not vote at elections for Guardians the Guardians were not under effective control. It was, no doubt, London’s own fault that at the last election of Guardians not one-tenth of the electorate voted, but the fact remained that the Guardians were not representative. Further, the areas of the existing unions were not large enough in face of the fact that quite a number of different institutions had to be provided for the poor, and for every union to provide every one of them was unnecessarily extravagant. The Guardians had got to go. Poplar had been very unfairly treated by public opinion, not because it was not open to criticism, but because people supposed that Poplar was the only sinner, or the greatest sinner, whereas if his information were correct there were other Boards of Guardians as bad as that of Poplar. Poor Law administration was destined to become part of ordinary municipal work—it was all one business of the management of institutions. It was not necessary to have all the apparatus of a Board of Guardians merely to discover the circumstances of the cases that came up for relief, and he thought the best thing would be to have the classification done by a competent officer, the question of whether the relief should be outdoor or indoor being left to the local body.”

Objections to the Progressive Policy.

The Report of the Royal Commission on the Amalgamation of the City and County of London, as already shown, decisively pronounced against the policy of one huge municipality for all London. “Unification” was rejected by the people of London at the L.C.C. election in March, 1895.

Ever since 1855, when the Metropolitan Board of Works was

established, the principle has been adopted that there should be strong local authorities as well as a central body for the purposes of London government. Numerous Commissions and Committees have supported that plan.

By the London Government Act, 1888, Parliament, with the common assent of all parties, declared the Metropolitan area to be more akin to an urban county than one vast coherent town, to be a province rather than a city. The plan of government adopted was a central County Council for purposes common to the whole of London, and which could not be better performed by the local bodies. In addition, it was agreed that there should be established powerful local authorities, and that the City of London, retaining its ancient and efficient Corporation, should continue to exercise all such powers as ought not, on the ground of administrative expediency, to be transferred to the central body.

The London Government Act of 1899, the provisions of which are summarised above, established the City and Borough Councils, and completed the system of London government.

These two Acts were both based on the essential and dominating factor in the system of London administration, that there should be local as well as central authorities. This principle of duality has always existed since 1855, when a Royal Commission reported against London being governed by one huge municipality, because there would be lacking the two first conditions of good municipal government—minute knowledge of local needs and community of interests. All legislation for the past fifty years has followed these same lines, and the local spirit thus developed has produced a large advance in municipal life and work.

The establishment of the Borough Councils in 1899 carried the suggestions of the Royal Commission of 1894 into effect.

While it is not possible to deal fully with the unwieldy and ambitious scheme put forward by Capt. Hemphill, and reported above, these further points may be noted, viz :—

(1) The L.C.C. is already overburdened with work. It is at present proposed by the Progressives to relieve it of its educational duties. Members are complaining that the work

entails too much sacrifice of time and thought for able business men to become councillors.

(2) Any slight administrative chaos which exists can be abolished by a simple Act, without having recourse to the destruction of the Borough Councils, which perform nearly all the public health work of London efficiently and economically. The rise in the local Borough Council and Guardians' average rates in the past 16 years has been only 1½d. in the £. The central rates (L.C.C., &c.) have risen 2s. 2d. in the £ in the same period, viz., 1890—1906.

(3) The Borough Councils might well undertake the duties of the Poor Law Guardians, and other reforms of Poor Law administration might be effected. The Report of the Royal Commission on Poor Law Administration, which is now inquiring into this question, will, perhaps, deal with this point.

(4) The outside areas (Outer London) can well manage their own affairs by joint boards of management in the case of main drainage. Another large common service, *i.e.*, water supply, is already managed by the Metropolitan Water Board.

Mr. Asquith on Local Government.

Mr. Asquith, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, speaking as Home Secretary before the County Council elections of 1895, said: "We propose to extend" to the new local bodies "that large common corporate life which brings with it the dignity of responsibility"; and "we propose to give to them the stimulus of more attractive titles, and of conspicuous position, that will create a more fruitful field for the best energies and the best efforts of the best men of the localities."

Effect has been given to the above views of Mr. Asquith by the Unionist London Government Act of 1899. This, the present Radical Progressive Party are now seeking once again to destroy, with a view to obtaining what one of their leaders has described as "a thorough grip on London."

Lord Rosebery on Local Spirit.

Speaking at Clerkenwell on June 14th, 1895, Lord Rosebery said:—

"Although we believe that London should be one, we believe that unity will be best attained and strengthened by maintaining local spirit, by encouraging local spirit, and by developing local spirit. **We desire to see London united, but not a unit.**"

The late Lord Salisbury's Views.

The opinion of the late Lord Salisbury upon the question of London government, though expressed so long ago as November 22nd, 1883, is still well deserving of serious consideration :—

“ The question is not between self-government and no self-government,” said Lord Salisbury, “ but whether you are to have a vast heterogeneous ill-compacted area, or whether each community is to have the privilege of governing itself. . . . The Metropolis is an enormous aggregation of human beings, and no municipality in the country can be cited as a guide for its future organisation.” . . . After calling attention to the peculiar growth of London’s various communities, Lord Salisbury went on to state : “ What will be the effect of putting them all under one municipality ? There seems to be an idea that you make municipal power in proportion as you make a large municipality. The truth is the other way. If you do make it large, you in proportion diminish its power of doing business. . . . There is no doubt that, assuming the most entire patriotism, and the most complete abnegation of self, and the most absolute determination to do its duty on the part of this immense municipality, if the members of it are numerous, their debates must in proportion be lengthy, and the amount of business transacted must be small. When you rely, as you must rely in the main, on unpaid labour, it is a great mistake to tax it with too vast an area of duty. Men who have other occupations can only devote a certain portion of their leisure to the performance of these public duties. Give them a small amount to do, and they will do it well. Give them an excessive amount to do, and they will delegate it to their professional advisers. I know their ability and integrity, but I have observed that they are animated by the enthusiasm of their profession, and that their government is not the most economical which it is possible for human wisdom to devise. Professional advisers, when they advise, are admirable advisers, but when they govern they are apt to forget that the constable must not be outrun. The real point, however, is to avoid being misled, as we so often are in the present day, by the mere glamour of imagination. There is a kind of luxury in upsetting a Corporation which has lasted for 800 years. There is a luxury in setting up the biggest Corporation over the biggest city that has ever been made. But we must guard against these intellectual delusions, and I believe that London will be better and more efficiently governed if moderate areas of government are selected than if these dreams of great legislative changes are realised.”

Mr. Chamberlain on Municipal Government.

No one is better qualified to speak with authority on the question of municipal government than Mr. Chamberlain, whose experience for so many years as Councillor, Alderman, and Mayor of Birmingham renders him thoroughly acquainted with the subject in all its practical details. In the *New Review* for June, 1894, there appeared an article by Mr. Chamberlain entitled "Municipal Government: Past, Present, and Future," in which he discussed the growth and increasing importance of our municipal institutions.

After pointing out the evils that have corrupted and destroyed municipal life in the great American cities, Mr. Chamberlain discussed the means by which a similar deterioration is to be averted in this country. An undue growth of officialdom is a great danger to be avoided. In an honest and well-ordered municipality "the influence of the unpaid member ought to be a constant and an animating force." Such a member must take an active personal part in the carrying out of his duties :—

"It is clear that these duties cannot be satisfactorily performed if the area of responsibility is indefinitely enlarged. Already, the work of a conscientious member of a council in a large town exacts from him the devotion of one or two days in the week to his public duties. The Mayor who enters thoroughly into his work is as fully occupied as a Prime Minister, and can attend to no other occupation during his term of office. It may well be doubted whether the enlargement of municipal boundaries, which is constantly going on, has not proceeded far enough. A population of half a million is practically the largest number that can be governed from one centre with the individual attention and constant assiduity that have contributed so much to the usefulness and popularity of corporate work. Many observers friendly to the work, and careful of the reputation of the London County Council, regret that the establishment of a central authority did not follow, rather than precede, the creation of local councils dealing with more moderate areas, and fear that the possible outcome may be, when the first flush of public interest has passed away, the permanent institution of a great centralised bureaucratic administration, jealous of its authority, wedded to its own methods, and gradually losing touch with the people for whose benefit it exists.

Decentralisation is one of the secrets of successful local government, and it is an empty name in connection with a local authority which professes to look after the health, the comfort, and the domestic arrangements of nearly five millions of people."

For the above, as well as for other reasons, the Municipal Reform Party is strongly opposed to the vesting of ultra-despotic powers in the London County Council in regard to London.

The History of the Question.

The following quotations are made from a lecture delivered by Mr. Percy Harris, L.C.C., the then leader of the Moderate Party, at the London Municipal Society's Offices on June 20th, 1906, entitled "London Government—Past and Present."

"I am going to quote to you from Mr. Dickinson, M.P., L.C.C., who is the political leader of the London Radicals. In his policy, propounded in 1905, Mr. Dickinson said: 'London claims to enter on the right long ago accorded to all great cities—the right of speaking with one voice through one representative body.' Then in the debate on the Equalisation of Rates Report, in May, 1906, Mr. Dickinson deplored the establishment of the Borough Councils upon lines which Progressives did not approve, and which made unification more difficult.*

"Now, it is certain that if the Progressives are returned to power at the next election, and if the Radical Government remains in power, the old cry for the creation of a single municipality to govern London will be again raised. That is a policy which I think it is our duty to expose, and to tackle at the earliest possible moment.

"Perhaps you will allow me to give you a short sketch of the history of this question of London government. The

* The following is the speech to which Mr. Harris here refers.

Speaking in the Council on May 8th, 1906, Mr. W. H. Dickinson, M.P. (P.), said: "Now we had a speech from my friend Mr. Harris—one of his usual able but simply critical and destructive speeches that we so often hear from him. He commented, as he was entitled to comment, upon the fact that the Equalisation of Rates Act was one which emanated from the Liberal Government in 1894, but I would like to remind him of this: At that time the Equalisation of Rates Act of 1894 was only intended to be a skeleton; it was a temporary measure, and was certainly part and parcel of a great scheme of reform that we had at that moment in our minds, and that we hoped to carry out for the benefit of London. Unfortunately, the political meteorology of 1894 made it impossible for the Liberal Party in power to carry out a greater scheme for the reform of London government, and, therefore, we have now been delayed ten years, with one exception, unfortunately (in 1899), when the Borough Councils were established upon lines which we, as every one knows, did not approve. The question of unification was made all the more difficult by that action of Parliament."

Radical idea of London government was contained in Sir William Harcourt's Bill of 1884. That Bill proposed to create one single municipality for London. It was to be composed of 240 members; it was to absorb the City Corporation, and to have all the powers of the Metropolitan Board of Works, the Vestries, and District Boards, and other then existing local bodies. Local bodies were to be re-created, but they were to have no original powers, only such as the municipality might be pleased graciously to grant them. It is obvious that that was a measure of complete centralisation. It was a proposal which did not commend itself to London, and had to be withdrawn.

"In 1888, the Conservative policy for London government was propounded. That policy was to establish a central body for affairs common to the whole of London, and local bodies for local affairs. That is a policy which undoubtedly received the approval of London, and has, in point of fact, now been carried into effect. It happened, unfortunately, in 1888, that the Unionist Government did not feel able to deal with both the central and local administrations in one Bill, therefore they created the London County Council as the central body, expressly leaving the reform of the local bodies to be dealt with by subsequent legislation. That was rather unfortunate, because it gave the Progressive Party the opportunity of trying to upset the Unionist policy. Accordingly the Progressives started on the plan of campaign of trying to establish the London County Council as the single omnipotent municipality, as originally proposed by Sir William Harcourt's Bill. The first step in the plan was to absorb the City Corporation, because the City Corporation, of course, was a considerable stumbling block in the way of any measure of that kind. After absorbing the City Corporation, it would be comparatively easy to deal with the weak Vestries and District Boards. Accordingly a Royal Commission was appointed by the Radical Government 'to consider the proper conditions under which the amalgamation of the City and County of London could be effected, and to make specific and practical proposals for the purpose.'

"The Moderates challenged that proposal.

"Then the London Municipal Society was started, which had as the first object in its programme to extend and complete the policy for the reform of London government initiated by the Unionist Ministry of 1886-1892, in the creation of a London County by the establishment of District Councils or Corporations, and their endowment with adequate authority.

"I think it must be admitted that the Moderate policy was completely successful. The Royal Commission, which had been engineered by the Progressives, hoisted them. There never was such a case of a political engineer being hoist

with his own petard, because the whole object of the Royal Commission was to enable the London County Council to become the omnipotent authority. But the Royal Commission, while making proposals for absorbing the City, as they were ordered to do, reported that 'everything possible should be done to maintain the strength, authority, and dignity of the local bodies,' who were to be entrusted with 'every duty they could conveniently discharge.' That practically blew the Progressive bubble to fragments, and the Progressive policy was undoubtedly condemned at the County Council elections of 1895. . . . The Parliamentary election of 1895 finally disposed of the Progressive policy, and the London Government Bill of 1899 set up the Borough Councils and endowed them with considerable powers.

"It is quite true, as Mr. Dickinson said, that the establishment of the Borough Councils has made unification in the Progressive sense more difficult, but it has not made it impossible, and I feel there are many signs that the old policy is reviving, and that we shall see again a deliberate attempt to try and make the London County Council the autocrat of the Metropolis. I think I see how it is hoped to bring that policy about. You may remember that an attempt was made to prevent the establishment of the Borough Councils by suggesting that that meant doing away with the system of equalisation. It was said that what was really proposed was to make cities of the rich and towns of the poor, and it was only when the London Government Bill was introduced that it was seen it was quite possible to establish Borough Councils without interfering with equalisation, and without making cities of the rich and towns of the poor.

"I am convinced that the plan is to try to use equalisation as a bribe to get the Borough Councils practically to surrender their independence. The way the matter would be put to them is this: The Progressives will say to the Metropolitan Borough Councils, 'We propose to offer you complete equalisation—that is to say, we will let you, the Borough Councils, charge all your expenditure upon the County Fund.' It is a very considerable bribe. It is not proposing they shall give up their birthright for a mess of pottage, but for a considerable amount of gold. 'We will put the whole of your expenditure upon the County Fund,' will be the offer. 'But,' they will go on to say, 'it is not possible, or reasonable, that the Borough Councils should spend what they like, and charge it on the County Fund; you will have to put the control of your expenditure in the hands of the London County Council.'

"The Finance Committee of the London County Council let the cat out of the bag when they suggested it might be necessary for the Borough Councils to submit their proposals

for expenditure to the London County Council before they carried them out. Of course, it is perfectly obvious that under any scheme of that kind the Borough Councils would be simply in leading-strings to the London County Council; they would not be independent bodies in the very least. Gradually, in that way, you get to the ideal which has been in the minds of Radicals ever since 1884, of having a single municipality absolutely supreme in London.

“Perhaps some of you may have wondered why the report that came before the Council lately on the Equalisation of Rates was withdrawn, or rather, was referred back. It was a proposal to put three-quarters of the expenditure of the Borough Councils upon the County rate. If it had come forward a year ago, I am quite certain it would have been carried in the Council with acclamation, but now the Progressives have other schemes in hand, and other ambitions. They do not intend to give any equalisation, unless accompanied with such provision as will secure that all the power passes into the hands of the London County Council.”

The Position of District Surveyors.

A point of controversy has long been smouldering respecting the position of District Surveyors. At present they are appointed by the London County Council, under Section 139 of the London Building Act, 1894, and their duties are to report as to new, or alterations of existing, buildings, &c., in their district, and to carry out the duties imposed by the Building Act.

Many of the Borough Councils think this work could be done as efficiently and at less cost by their own Surveyors, who have now to inspect the buildings for sanitary and health requirements, but have no power as regards the structure, while the District Surveyors have little or no powers on sanitary matters. Such division of work seems to be absurd, and gives unnecessary trouble to builders and owners, who have to give the notices to two authorities instead of one, and delay and extra expense often result therefrom. In the municipalities of the country no such trouble arises; the Corporation is the authority for all purposes, and no trouble is experienced in carrying out the duties by the Borough Surveyor.

It has been stated by the Progressives that the Borough

Surveyors are not competent to carry out the work required ! But this is emphatically denied, and the fees payable by the owners or builders would enable the local authorities to engage men of the best qualifications and experience.

Several minor powers have already been transferred from the County to the Borough Councils, and if the duties of the District Surveyors were also so transferred, it would give considerable satisfaction to the local authorities, and would, at the same time, relieve the central authority of a great deal of work. But the Progressives will not trust the Borough Councils, either with that or any other duty they can help, and so the distrust is kept up so long as the present Progressive majority continues to reign.

The Municipal Reform policy is to entrust the Borough Councils with all such powers of a local character as they can best carry out ; the Progressive policy apparently is to distrust the local authorities, to sneer at their capacity, and to exalt the County Council to a far greater extent than was intended by Parliament when it passed the Acts under which both authorities were constituted.

Ambitious Designs of the Progressives.

The following extracts from a debate* which took place in the Council on October 23rd, 1906, disclose some of the present ambitious designs of the Progressive Party on the London County Council.

The attitude of the Progressive and Moderate Parties respectively in regard to the projected vast increase in the powers of the L.C.C., is sufficiently demonstrated in the speeches of members of the two parties quoted below.

The debate is also of interest owing to the trenchant criticism which certain independent members of the Progressive Party levelled against the leaders of that Party.

At the Ordinary Meeting of the Council, held on October 23rd, 1906, the Report of the General Purposes Committee, with

* This debate is reported in full in the "London Municipal Notes" for November, 1906, pages 338—362.

regard to the proposed increase in the number of members of the Council, was submitted.

On Recommendation 1 (A), "That in the opinion of the Council the time has arrived when the number of members of the Council should be increased, and that the Government be approached with a view to effect being given to this proposal during the autumn Session of Parliament."

Mr. H. Percy Harris (M.) said : There is a simple audacity about this report which betrays, I think, the artistic hand of Mr. McKinnon Wood, the Chairman of the Sub-Committee which prepared this report. This report contains proposals of very great importance. There is a proposal to enlarge this Council, by about half of its present membership, to increase, in fact, the number of members from 137 to 200. There is, also, a proposal to effect a very large redistribution of electoral power in London.

Some persons would have thought it desirable to support these important proposals by argument, to have adduced some reasons why they should be adopted. Not so, says Mr. McKinnon Wood, and his colleague, Mr. Gilbert. They know perfectly well that there are occasions when nothing can be conveniently said, and on which it is best to accordingly say nothing. Mr. Wood knows perfectly well that if he had submitted any scheduled proposal of new constituencies, it would have served to show what a number of inequalities and anomalies are involved in the proposals that he has put forward. Therefore, he tells us nothing as to the new constituencies. The report says nothing in respect of this very important proposal, but the last sentence of the report is amusing. In the last sentence of the report, Mr. Wood says :—

"We are advised that the Bill would be very short, and we believe it would be practically non-contentious in principle."

I think it must be admitted that a proposal of such importance as to increase the membership of this Council by nearly one-half, and to redistribute the electoral power in London, are proposals which do deserve some justification.

I quite agree that the work of this Council has become very heavy, perhaps I may say excessively heavy ; but I doubt the wisdom of rushing into the suggested remedy of increasing largely the membership of this Council.

I am not one of those who believe that there is no limit to the powers and duties which a single public body can efficiently discharge. There are two matters to which I attach the very greatest importance. One is that this Council should have a complete and strong grip and control over all its work. I cannot help thinking that the Council has deteriorated in that

respect in recent years, and for a very simple reason. I happen to be one of those whose duty it has been to follow a great many branches of this Council's work. I find it has become exceedingly difficult to get any grip or knowledge of the work so as to be able to give an intelligent vote in this Council. The other point to which I attach great importance is the desirability of having ample public discussion of the subjects with which the Council has to deal. I have seen over and over again the schemes of the majority of this Council modified materially by the fact that they had to submit to public discussion in this Council. I cannot help thinking in recent years, perhaps it is partly due to the educational work, owing to the folly of insisting on all educational details being brought before this Council, that public discussion has undoubtedly suffered. I do not think that an increase in the membership of this Council will provide more time for public discussion. We can scarcely give to public discussion more than one day a week. Nor will this proposed increase in members secure a better control of the Council's work, because I am convinced that the increase of membership will be used as a justification for embarking upon other work which will make it more and more difficult for the Council as a whole to have a grip of the subjects with which it has to deal.

The first motive—the ostensible motive for increasing our present numbers—is undoubtedly the increase of work which has been either thrust upon this Council, or which this Council has sought for itself. I quite agree that there is force in that contention, though I think before it is proposed that the Council should be increased in order that it may deal with educational work, the Council should, at any rate, wait and see what powers it is possible to delegate to the Education Committee, and have some experience of the working of that experiment.

There seems to me to be unavowed motives behind this proposal. I cannot help thinking **the unavowed motive is that passion for power, which is a chronic complaint of the Progressive Party.** I find evidence of that in their action in regard to education. We know that it was proposed to place education upon this Council. The Progressive Council said they wished to be excused. That observation went unheeded, and now I observe a passionate desire on the part of the Progressive Party to retain education for the Council. **The Council has suffered for a long time from suppressed megalomania.** It has not been able to fully gratify its passion. We realise how this Council has proposed to embark upon an enormous scheme for the supply of electricity in bulk. We know in what a reckless manner they are prepared to spend money upon street improvements. Not only improvements, but tramways also are to be undertaken without any regard

to the financial credit, or the financial position of the Council. Then, again, I gathered from the discussion that took place on the question of Equalisation, that **this Council has in its mind to become responsible for the finance of all the Borough Councils. The Borough Councils, I gather, are to be reduced to a subordinate position,** and the Council is to be responsible for the expenditure of all those authorities. Surely that is going to mean an enormous amount of work and responsibility for this Council. The great danger, it seems to me, is that the Council should become an unwieldy and overgrown body.

If the Council is to embark upon a large number of new trading enterprises, to take upon itself the responsibility of the expenditure of the Borough Councils, and to extend its sphere in many other directions, then the question will have to be seriously considered whether the Council ought not to be relieved of a certain amount of its work. I have argued the question so far solely on the merits of the proposed increase of the Council; but much more serious is the method by which the proposed increase is to be obtained. We are to have, as I understand, a temporary Reform Bill. This Bill is a Bill which might eradicate, I admit, certain glaring inequalities of representation. While it might eradicate glaring inequalities, it would leave behind many serious inequalities, and it would create new inequalities. We are in a great difficulty in discussing this matter, because the Committee have presented no Schedule of new constituencies.

I do not think there is any case, or any urgent need, for the increased membership of the Council as to justify the proposal at this time.

I beg to move the amendment of which I have given you notice, and which is in the following words:—

“That all words after the word ‘Council’ in line one be omitted, and that the following words be substituted therefor: ‘No proposal for increasing the membership of the Council should be put forward without adequate examination of all the considerations involved, and that the need for a revision of the representation of the rate-payers upon the Council should be met by a measure which would remove existing inequalities throughout the county, and not by some temporary, partial, and hastily-proposed scheme.’”

Mr. H. T. Anstruther (M.), in seconding Mr. Harris’s amendment, said: It does seem to me that we have the right to call upon those who are responsible for a full explanation of the reasons which cause this hurried scheme to be brought forward, and at such short notice. We should like also to ask what the cost of this scheme will be, because I apprehend that the

enlargement of the number of members will mean an enlarged expenditure from the point of view of the return of expenses when the election of the London County Council comes round, and also that **it will require a large increase in the staff of this Council.**

It seems to me that the remedy lies rather in some system by which the work is delegated to Committees, and, if possible, to a lessening of the duplication and triplication of powers. In conclusion, let me remind you that an increase in membership will inevitably lead to an increase in loquacity; the hours of attendance for everyone of us will be increased, our duties will be enlarged, and the burden thrown upon the staff is bound to be very largely increased.

Mr. J. D. Gilbert (Chairman of the General Purposes Committee) (P.) said: I think Mr. Harris rather gave his case away for objecting to the increase of the members of the Council, when he said he was one of those who believed that there was a limit to the power of this Council. Speaking for those on this side of the House, we do not take the same view as Mr. Harris. **We are not of opinion that there should be a limit to the powers of the London Council.**

As regards the duties which we have taken over since the Council was established, I should like to mention some of the duties which the Council now has to do which in the first year of its existence it did not have to do. We have taken over the whole of the tramways north and south of London, and we are electrifying them, and more trams will be added year by year. Then the number of improvements has been greatly added to during the recent years of the Council's existence. There is the question of Housing. In the early days of the Council we had no housing schemes to carry out; now we have a great many housing schemes, which entail a great deal of detail Committee work. Then there is the Building Act, and a good many other Acts, giving to your Building Act Committee certain powers in respect of factory questions, fire questions, &c. There is also the administration of the Public Health Acts. Parks have increased. There is motor-car registration given over to the Council during recent years, the control and regulation of shop hours, employment agencies, and various other matters.

Mr. C. S. Cobb (M.): And steamboats.

Mr. Gilbert: Yes, sir, the steamboats are an additional work. Then, there is another matter which has also greatly increased the work of the Council of recent years. I refer to the representation on outside bodies. We have now representatives on the Thames Conservancy, on the Lee Conservancy, on the Water Board, and on the Lee Valley Drainage

Commission. We have also representatives on the Underfed School Children's Committee, on the Central Unemployed Fund, and also on the Teachers' and Staff Education and Superannuation Committee. All these extra duties have increased the work for members of this Council, and I do not think we are unfair in asking that the number of the members of this Council should be increased. Some of us, and I join issue with Mr. Harris, are hopeful that this Council's powers will be further increased in the future. We are not ashamed to say that we hope that Parliament will give us control of the electric bulk supply of London. That is the view of the majority of this Council; and **if we are to have the control of the bulk electricity supply of London, that is another work for which we shall require a good deal of extra members.** There is another question—the reform of the Port of London.

Mr. H. J. Glanville (P.) said: I have listened attentively to the remarks of Mr. Gilbert as to why the membership of this Council should be increased. So far as I can see, nearly all of those reasons would have applied with equal force a year ago. If that be so, I ask why at the last moment is this suggestion made? Would it not have been more appropriate that this suggestion should have been made in the spring or summer of this year, so that the matter could have been dealt with in a proper manner instead of in this hurried way?

We are to have a scheme of redistribution of seats based on the population of 1901, when, in the outlying portions of the whole of the Metropolis, particularly in the South, the population has, since 1901, been going up by leaps and bounds, while it has been getting less and less in the centre and Eastern portions. On these grounds I am strongly opposed to the recommendation of the Committee. It seems like a gerrymandering method of dealing with an increase in the number of the seats.

Lieut.-Col. C. F. Colville (M.) said: Would it not be well to consider first whether it would not be better to make use of the material that you already have, rather than make use of new, and increase your material? For instance, **I was proposed as a member of the Works Committee, but I was not elected.** I am a busy man, but I am prepared to place all Wednesdays at the disposal of the London County Council for committee purposes. **I have been 12 months a member of the Council, but I am not a member of any committee.** Why not, then, make use of the material you have before you ask for more members, and say you have not got enough? You talk about the magnitude of the work, but whose fault is that? It is owing to the fact that the London County Council insists on undertaking work for which, as a body, it is not quali-

fied. We are not surprised to hear people in the street ask what does L.C.C. mean? and be given the answer that it means the London County Cormorant. (Laughter.)

Mr. G. H. Radford, M.P. (P.), said: The motive in this report of the General Purposes Committee is to be found in the unhappy subject of Education. But for the Education Act of 1902, we should never have had this report. The fact is that the Chairman of the General Purposes Committee knows this, that **the public in London have been rendered indignant by the fact that the Progressive Party in this Council have closed the doors of the Education Committee to the Press.**

Since the attention of London has in this matter been directed to the work of the Education Committee as the Education Authority, the people of London have found out that the present administration of Education is not all that could be desired, and the people of London have looked back with longing to the old days of the School Board, when we had members dealing with Education who knew the business, who knew the children, and who knew the whole subject, and made it their life's work. Mr. Gilbert knows he has to face the election next March, and this report is brought up in order to say to the people of London who remain Progressive, and who are jibbing at present at the conduct of Education by this Council, that it is not necessary to abolish the Education Committee and set up an improved School Board, but that if you adopt this alternative of increasing the number of the Council, and delegating the powers to the Education Committee, the mischief, of which you have so justly complained, will be rectified. That is the true history of the motive of this report.

Mr. R. C. Phillimore (P.) said: It appears to me that little or no administrative advantage will result from the proposal. But this will result from it. In the view of the man in the street it will be an admission that you have entirely failed to maintain the usefulness of this Council. The admission that we shall make is that with our present number of members, we are incapable of doing the work Parliament has put on us. **What is the cause of the defects we have at this moment? The cause at the present moment is that we have a large number of members of Parliament, who are also members of this Council.** What administrative advantages will be gained by this proposal? We shall have, no doubt, more talk. It seems to me extremely likely that the larger the Council, the longer will be the debates. I do not believe we shall have better work. **I believe the increase in the members of this Council will increase the number of officials** who will have to attend to these members.

What I believe we ought to do is not to increase the

number of members, but to try to get those members we have at present into greater personal touch with the work that has to be done. I think that if our Chairmen could in some way be enabled to give more time to the work of their Committees, if these Committees could be rendered smaller, and if the members of the Committees were less apt to oppose reports on frivolous pretexts, this Council would be better able to do its work. I feel it is my duty to oppose this proposal, because I consider it **ill-considered, retrograde, and utterly opposed to the principles of sound administration.** In conclusion, I put this to Mr. Gilbert. Mr. Gilbert says he is prepared to consider an indefinite increase in our work, or he used some such words. There I am with him, but does he propose with every increase of our work to increase the number of our members? In that case, if we had ten times the work, we shall have 2,000 members.

Mr. F. Dolman (Chairman of the Local Government and Records Committee) (P.) said: The Bill of Sir William Harcourt in 1884 proposed a municipal authority for London composed of a membership of no less than 242, and therefore I think that the proposal of a membership of 200 is not in excess of the probable requirements, if it is in excess of the immediate requirements of municipal work in London, having regard to the inevitable development of the powers of the central authority. I hope that this will be an issue of the London County Council election, and that the electors of London will have an opportunity of giving a decided answer to this question. They have now had a number of years of the administration of a central municipal authority. **I believe that the whole moral of the work that has been done by the London County Council is that rather than have an indefinite multiplicity of public authorities in London, we should rather, in preference, aim at the ideal of having a representative body for the whole of London, controlling the whole of the municipal affairs of London.**

Sir R. M. Beachcroft (M.) said: The Moderate Party have from the first moment the 1903 Act was passed, impressed and urged on the Council to at once take advantage of the enabling powers given by the Act to delegate our functions, except those in regard to financial control, to an Education Committee properly constituted. It has pressed the Council to act with regard to the Education Committee in the manner suggested, and authorised, by the Act of 1903, and has also suggested that women should have their fair share of the work of that Committee. I am told that Mr. Wood next week will bring up a recommendation which partly aims at that suggestion. Surely, if that suggestion is carried out, there should be no hurry for this appeal to his Majesty's Government to increase our members to 200.

Mr. T. P. Gaskell (M.) said: It seems to me the point which we ought specially to discuss is whether this proposal of the General Purposes Committee is necessary or not. In order to arrive at a decision as to whether the Council is overworked or not, I have made an analysis of the attendances of the Council during the past year, excluding the members of the Council who sit on the dais. Taking an average of 134 members, I find that there has been an attendance at the Council meetings of 4,058, at Committee meetings 7,266, and at Sub-Committee meetings 7,742. That gives an average per member of 30 for Council meetings, 54 for Committee meetings, and 58 for Sub-Committee meetings. If we take an average of $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours for each Council meeting—I think that is little enough—and $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours for each Committee meeting, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours for each Sub-Committee, I find that on the average each member has given 135 hours to the Council meetings, 135 hours to the Committee meetings, and 87 hours to the Sub-Committee meetings, making a total of 357 hours in the year.

We work 34 weeks out of the 52, practically 8 months out of the 12. Therefore, on the average, every member of this Council has during the past year worked $10\frac{1}{2}$ hours each week. I ask you to consider whether $10\frac{1}{2}$ hours per week is too much to expect from the members, who have the honour to represent constituencies on this Council. I think it is a very moderate amount of time indeed. I cannot see the necessity, if that is the total amount of time which members give to the work of this Council, to increase the numbers.

Mr. T. McKinnon Wood, M.P. (the Leader of the Progressive Party), said: What the General Purposes Committee have said, is:—

“Independently of and apart from the question whether the educational work of the Council would be advanced by an enlarged Education Committee, we think that there will be a consensus of opinion that the magnitude of the work of the Council, and the ever-increasing demands made upon members, are adequate and sufficient reasons why the membership should be increased.”

That is the one argument, Mr. Chairman. We have no other argument to put forward. Surely the time to take up a matter like this is the time when you are starting a new Council, when new work is coming upon you, when you are feeling the pressure of work that is coming upon you, and when you hope that new work will be committed to your charge?

I am not one of those who think that the sphere of this Council is to be limited by its present scope. The Council has a perfectly simple issue before it. Having got these two addi-

tional things, increased and increasing municipal work, and the concerns of the new department of education, which formerly was not upon our shoulders, surely it is a reasonable thing to go to the Government and ask that the new Council should be increased in numbers?

Mr. R. A. Robinson (the Leader of the Moderate Party) said: This is a partial and hastily-prepared scheme. It is not for me to attempt to fathom the reasons which have led to this, but I do say that 137 members should be perfectly able to cope with the work of the Council, if we do it in a business-like way.

The first thing to do is to pass educational matters on to the Education Committee, leaving it open to the Press and the public, and not to compel them to bring up every trumpery recommendation, as, for example, the salary of a charwoman, before this Council. The Council should retain in its own hands the financial control and questions of policy. Let us do what every other County Council already does—delegate to the Education Committee powers for dealing with education. If we did that, we should be free of the great incubus that we find week by week on this agenda.

If the addition of new members means encouragement for this Council to seek larger fresh powers, I contend that such will not commend itself to the people of London. Are we going to take on a job like the control of the Port of London, and, as Mr. Gilbert airily says, manage it by a Committee of this Council? Are we going to undertake the supply of electricity in bulk over an area of 450 square miles, at an expense of 10 to 20 millions? Then, indeed, you may want more members on this Council. Against such a policy I protest. I think this is not the authority to undertake such works. Our plain duty is to govern and control, and not to undertake the work ourselves.

On (1A) Recommendation (A) in paragraph No. 1 of the report being put to the vote, there appeared:—

FOR THE MOTION, 65.

Allan, A. A. (P.)	Cleland, J. W. (P.)
Bayley, E. "	Cooper, B. "
Beaton, Dr. R. M. "	Davis, T. "
Benn, Sir John "	Davies, W. "
Bray, R. "	Dawes, J. A. "
Briant, F. "	Dolman, F. "
Browne, E. "	Gilbert, J. D. (<i>Teller</i>) "
Bruce, W. W. "	Gosling, H. "
Chambers, F. "	Hardy, G. A. "
Clarke, C. Goddard "	Harvey, T. E. "

Hemphill, Capt. the	Sandhurst, Lord .. (P.)
Hon. Fitzroy .. (P.)	Sharp, L.
Hubbard, N. W.	Shepherd, A. J.
Hunter, T.	Shrubsall, G.
Jephson, H.	Smith, Alfred
Jesson, C.	Smith, Edward
Johnson, W. C.	Smith, J.
Jones, Rev. L. J.	Straus, B. S.
Lampard, G.	Strong, R.
Leon, A. L.	Taylor, H. R.
Lewis, J.	Torrance, Sir Andrew M. ..
Lidgett, Rev. J. Scott ..	Wallas, G.
McDougall, Sir John	Ward, H.
(Teller)	Warmington, F. W.
Mitchell, Isaac	Warren, G. J.
Monkswell, Lord	Waterlow, D. S.
Mowatt, Right Hon. Sir	Webb, Sidney
Francis	Welby, Lord
Mullins, W. E.	West, Right Hon. Sir
Napier, T. B.	Algernon E.
Parkinson, W. C.	Wiles, T.
Piggot, John	Williams, Howell J.
Pomeroy, Ambrose	Wood, T. McKinnon
Rusell, Arthur B.	Yates, W. B.
Sanders, W. S.	

AGAINST THE MOTION, 40.

Alliston, F. P. (M.)	Greenwood, H. J. .. (M.)
Anstruther, H. T. (Teller) ..	Guinness, Hon. Rupert ..
Bailey, W.	Hanhart, N.
Barnes, E.	Harris, H. P. (Teller)
Beachcroft, Sir R. Mel-	Hunt, W.
vill	Jeffrey, J. (P.)
Bell, Sir William J.	Lancaster, W. J. .. (M.)
Bliss, Sir Henry W.	Phillimore, R. C. .. (P.)
Brandon, Jocelyn	Probyn, Lt.-Col. C. .. (M.)
Buxton, A. F.	Radford, G. H. .. (P.)
Cobb, C. S.	Robinson, R. A. .. (M.)
Collins, E.	Rotton, Lt.-Col. A.
Colville, Lt.-Col. C. F.	Salter, Dr. A. (P.)
Forman, E. B. (D.C.)	Sankey, Stuart .. (M.)
Gaskell, T. P.	Stanley, Hon. Arthur .. (P.)
Gastrell, Major W.	Sturge, C. Y. (M.)
Houghton	Swinton, Capt. G. S. C. ..
Glanville, H. J. .. (P.)	Taylor, J. T.
Goldsmith, F. (M.)	Thompson, W. W.
Goodrich, A. O.	White, E.
Gordon, H. H. .. (I.)	Williams, Jabez

The motion was accordingly agreed to.

In conclusion, there is good ground at the present time for saying that the Progressive ideal of London government seems to be one gigantic central body—a glorification of the County Council—which shall deal alike with the affairs of Stepney and Westminster, of Hampstead and Camberwell. This policy is in direct conflict with the Royal Commission reports, and is obviously opposed to the first essentials of municipal government. Local interest in local affairs is keen in provincial cities and towns, while in the Metropolis the great difficulty has always been to attract the services of business men to the administration of their respective districts. The London Government Act, 1899, is accomplishing a great deal in this direction, as may be seen from the list of those who have been the mayors, aldermen, and councillors of the various London Boroughs since the Unionist Government abolished vestrydom in the administration of the Metropolis. It behoves accordingly the Municipal Reform Party to clearly indicate to the electors of London the dangers likely to accrue if Progressive ambition is permitted to acquire all that it now seeks to control.

THE L.C.C. AND THE LONDON BUILDING ACTS.

The Building Act Committee of the L.C.C. administers the Building Acts of 1894, 1898, and 1905, and exercises the Council's powers under the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, as regards the provision of means of escape in case of fire from factories and workshops and other buildings. It consists of 15 members, meets once a week, and deals usually at each meeting with from 200 to 300 applications for exemption from, or relaxation of, the Building Laws. This huge amount of work has to be hurried through, and for the most part is in the hands of the Council's officials.

The Moderate Party have always advocated the policy of transferring to the Borough Councils all administrative duties under the Building Acts which could be efficiently discharged by the local authorities.

This is in accordance with the principle laid down by the Royal Commission in 1894, that "no duties should be thrown upon the Central Body that can be equally well performed by the local authorities" (paragraph 106 of the Report). This policy, however, does not recommend itself to the Progressive majority, who look upon the Borough Councils with jealousy and distrust, and flatly refuse even to consider the advisability of delegating some of their minor powers to the local authorities.

London Building Acts (Amendment) Act, 1905.

The Bill of 1905 was promoted by the L.C.C. to amend the law relating to buildings in London, and was of a most elaborate, sweeping, and controversial character. The London Building Act of 1894 consisted of 218 sections and four schedules, and was passed after considerable inquiry and discussion. The Bill introduced in 1905 consisted of 184 clauses and three schedules, so that within the short space of eleven years after the passing of the principal Act it was proposed to amend it in such a way that, if the whole Bill passed into law, the amending sections would have been almost equal in number to those of the principal Act. The law relating to the erection of buildings and the formation of streets in London is in a very complicated state, and is distributed over a number of statutes besides the Building Acts. The consolidation and amendment of the various Acts is certainly necessary. If the whole of the original Bill of 1905 had become law, the word "chaotic" would very inadequately have described the state of affairs which would undoubtedly have ensued. The leaders of the Moderate Party on the L.C.C. urged that so complicated a matter as the Building Laws should be referred to a Royal Commission consisting of men of technical and expert knowledge.

The Bill itself contained some highly objectionable amendments. Known as the "Confiscation Bill," it threatened seriously to interfere with the rights of owners of property in London. If, for instance, the proposed restrictions had become law, an owner rebuilding his premises in a street less than 40 feet wide (*e.g.*, Throgmorton Street) would practically have been prevented from increasing the height of his buildings or from re-erecting them to the same height as his neighbours.

The Bill empowered the Council to take land for improvements or new streets without having to obtain Parliamentary sanction; it attacked the Tribunal of Appeal—one of the safeguards provided by the London Building Act, 1894; and it

contained a large number of other provisions which enabled the L.C.C. to take people's property without giving them adequate compensation.

In the words of a Moderate member of the Council, "the Bill would have improved London off the face of the earth."

The Bill, however, aroused so much opposition that eventually it was withdrawn, with the exception of Part VIII., which related to protection against risks from fire.

Let it not be imagined that the Progressives have abandoned their "Confiscation Bill." *They have again instructed the Building Act Committee to draft a new Bill on the same lines*, and, with the assistance of their friends in the House of Commons, they are likely to force it through Parliament during the Session of 1907.

With regard to Part VIII. of the original Bill, the Council was successful, and with a few slight amendments it became law under the title of—

The London Building Acts (Amendment) Act, 1905.

The drastic character of the provisions of this Act were hardly realised until it actually came into force. The Act will affect nearly all buildings in the County of London, and will put owners and occupiers of houses and shops to a considerable, and, in many cases, unnecessary expense.

Little objection can be taken to those sections which require the provision of access to the roof of buildings, or to those which require sufficient means of escape to be provided in the case of *new* buildings. But from January 1st, 1907, all *existing* buildings having any storey more than 50 feet from the ground level, or which are occupied or inhabited by more than twenty people, will have to be provided with such means of escape as the L.C.C. may require (additional staircases, doors, &c.).

There is one clause in particular, which seems most unreasonable and unnecessary, and which is inflicting great hard-

ship on the owners and occupiers of one-storeyed shops. Under Section 10 of the Act of 1905, shops projecting 7 feet or more from the main building are required to have a roof of fire-resisting material; not only that, but the fire-resisting material must be 5 inches thick, and any ventilating cowl or lantern light must be removed not less than 6 feet from the main front of the building, and must be carried up on its three inner sides in fire-resisting materials. The clause is *retrospective*, and applies to the many hundreds of small one-storeyed shops, the owners and occupiers of which can very ill afford to spend from £50 to £100 on the alterations required by the Act.

Meetings of protest have been held in St. Pancras, Islington, and in other parts of the Metropolis. (Sir William Collins, M.P., L.C.C. [Progressive], took the chair at one of the meetings.) It was stated that the clauses were unnecessary, as hardly any lives had been lost owing to fires taking place in projecting shops **(the average being only two deaths a year in the last twelve years throughout the whole country)**, and that the owners and occupiers were asked to pay an enormous price for theoretical fire prevention.

Deputations were sent to the L.C.C. Building Act Committee asking them to grant exemptions to existing shops where possible (which under the Act the Committee have power to do), but the Progressive majority refuses to come to the assistance of the owners and occupiers of these small shops.

Another effect of the panic-drafted Act of 1905 is a great increase in the staff of the Architect's Department, which, although only part of the Act has come into force, is already costing the ratepayer an additional £3,000 a year. The Architect's Department is continually increasing. In the annual estimates, the salaries list amounts to the huge total of £57,603 16s. a year (see Annual Estimates, 1906-7, p. 120); and it must be remembered that this does not include the Architect's (Education) Department, which comes to another £23,516 13s. a year (see Annual Estimates, 1906-7, p. 89).

There is good ground for saying that the Act of 1905 has cost the ratepayers of London from £14,000 to £15,000. This is mainly due to the fact that the Act has been badly drafted, and the Council now finds that it has to pay large fees to the District Surveyors (who receive in some cases two or three fees from the L.C.C. for the same piece of work, besides the fee which they are entitled to receive from the builder); *e.g.* the District Surveyor receives a fee from the Council for notifying non-compliance with a certain section, a second fee for supervising work, and a third fee for informing the architect that the work has been completed.

Analysis of the London Building Acts (Amendment) Act, 1905.

The Builder, the journal of the trade, in its issue of November 18th, 1905, analyses the provisions of the Act of 1905 at some length, and says:—

“The importance of this Act, which received the Royal Assent in August, 1905, is not to be measured by the number of its effective sections. When we come to deduct from the forty-three sections of the new Act those fifteen sections which deal with exemptions, the nine sections which have to do with definitions and other Acts, and the ten sections concerned with machinery, penalties, and procedure, there are left but nine sections which directly affect buildings in the County of London. **These nine sections, however, are so wide-reaching, and will probably involve so much structural alteration to existing buildings,** besides having an important influence on the construction and arrangements of new buildings, that it behoves all who are interested in land and houses in London, even as occupiers only, to take note of the provisions of this Act which comes into operation, with certain exceptions, on January 1st, 1906. . . .”

“*Existing Buildings Affected on January 1st, 1907.*

“These are the following:—

“V. Existing high buildings—*i.e.*, a building which has any storey whose floor surface is more than 50 feet above the foot-way.

“VI. Existing twenty-person buildings—*i.e.*, a ‘building in which sleeping accommodation is provided for more than twenty persons or which is occupied by more than twenty persons, or in which more than twenty persons are employed.’

“It is to be noted that any existing dwelling-house occupied as such by not more than one family is excepted from the Classes V. and VI.

“In regard to these Classes V. and VI., powers are given to the London County Council to require the owner to provide such means of escape therefrom in case of fire ‘as can be reasonably required under the circumstances of the case.’

“When the Bill was before Parliament there was a great deal of opposition to this clause, it being contended, among other things, by the opposers that the powers given to the London County Council were too wide: the promoters, on the other hand, submitted that the London County Council had exercised their similar powers, with regard to existing factories and workshops, in a reasonable manner. In the result Parliament has determined that the owner shall have a right of appeal to the Tribunal of Appeal in case he is advised that the requisitions of the Council are unreasonable or excessive. It is to be noted that, even though no structural alteration be made in a building, certain changes of user (*e.g.* the termination of an occupancy of a building by, say, nineteen persons, and the new occupancy of the building by, say, twenty-one persons) are deemed to be a conversion of a building, and notice of such conversion must be given by the ‘owner or occupier’ to the District Surveyor.”

The Costly Effects of the Act of 1905.

Mr. A. Maryon Watson, in the April, 1906, issue of *The Nineteenth Century Magazine*, in an article entitled “The New Fire-Protection for London,” deals fully with the Act of 1905.

By the kind permission of the Editor of *The Nineteenth Century*, we are permitted to republish the following extracts from this article:—

“On the score of height alone, therefore, it will be evident that Parliament has by the new Act sanctioned interference with a very large number of buildings which were outside the scope of the Act of 1894. It should, moreover, be borne in mind that among the 60 feet high buildings it was only the more recent buildings—*i.e.*, those built since January 1st, 1895—which were touched by the old Act: whilst now, under the new Act, the limit of height is lowered to 50 feet, and on and after January 1st, 1907, the operation of the Act comes into force with regard to existing buildings, as well as new buildings. . . .”

“ But it is not only high buildings which are under the new Act required to be provided with a certificate from the Council that the means of escape are sufficient in case of fire ; the section applies also to every ‘ twenty-person ’ building—*i.e.*, ‘ a building in which sleeping accommodation is provided for more than twenty persons, or which is occupied or constructed, or adapted to be occupied by more than twenty persons, or in which more than twenty persons are employed, or which is constructed or adapted for the employment therein of more than twenty persons (Section 7, Subsection 1 (B), London Building Acts (Amendment) Act, 1905). . . . ”

“ Projecting shops, both new and existing, next come in for treatment under the new rules.

“ Everyone knows those buildings which, standing back some distance from the road, and having shops built out in front on the forecourts, may be seen in many streets in London, such as Hampstead Road, Hackney Road, Caledonian Road, and City Road. Captain Hamilton estimates that there are 7,741 such in London. . . . ”

“ To sum up, then. On January 1st, 1906, there will, in the first place, be 7,700 and odd illegal London shops, the owners of which may be called upon to expend a sum variously estimated at from £450,000 to £750,000 and odd ; secondly, there will be an unknown number of houses of more than 30 feet in height, the owners of which may be called upon to expend from £5 to £10 on each house in providing statutory means of access to the roofs ; thirdly, there will be an increased expenditure immediately required to make all buildings in process of construction comply with the provisions of the new Act ; and, lastly, the owners of high buildings and twenty-person buildings should be preparing to meet the rules for existing buildings, which will be affected on January 1st, 1907. The outlay under this head has been estimated at from £500 to £600 for each building.”

It will be gathered from the above that this Act of 1905 is of far-reaching consequence to everyone who is interested in house property, in that it will involve the expenditure of a very considerable sum on structural alterations. The Act does not apply merely to new buildings to be built, but also affects existing buildings. No doubt householders are to a certain extent protected from officious interference and exacting demands from County Council officials in that they are, when dissatisfied with County Council requirements, permitted to go to the Tribunal of Appeal. Such a course, however, means

worry and very considerable expense, and on the whole, although everyone will admit that wise provision should be made to secure life, it seems as if in some of the provisions this Act is hysterical, and considerably exceeds the necessities of the case. That it will involve, in many instances, considerable hardship, and in all cases a heavy financial outlay, is beyond doubt.

Report of the Building Act Committee, 1905-6.

The Building Act Committee's Report, contained in the Annual Report of the Proceedings of the Council for the year ended March 31st, 1906 (pages 33-34) (*inter alia*), stated :—

“ LONDON BUILDING ACTS (AMENDMENT) ACT, 1905.

“ On December 13th, 1904, a Bill to amend the provisions of the London Building Acts, 1894 and 1898, was approved by the Council, and was introduced into Parliament in the Session of 1905. The Bill met with considerable opposition, and on March 14th, 1905, by an arrangement between the Members of Parliament in charge of the Bill, and those in charge of the City of London (Escape from Fire) Bill, it was agreed to drop all parts of the Council's Bill with the exception of Part VIII. (Means of Escape from Fire, &c.), which then passed the second reading without opposition. The Bill received the Royal Assent on August 11th, 1905, as the London Building Acts (Amendment) Act, 1905. The Act, which came into operation with certain exceptions on January 1st, 1906, places upon the Council the duty of securing the provision and maintenance of proper means of escape in case of fire from certain classes of buildings within the County.

“ Sections 7 and 9 of the Act require the provision of means of escape from storeys, the upper surface of the floors whereof are at a greater height than 50 feet above the street, and from buildings occupied or adapted to be occupied by more than twenty persons, or in which more than twenty persons are or can be employed, or in which there is sleeping accommodation for more than twenty persons. Section 7 deals with new buildings, and Section 9, which does not come into operation until January 1st, 1907, is retrospective, and deals with existing buildings. Dwelling-houses occupied as such by not more than one family are exempt from the provisions of these sections.

“Section 10 deals with shops projecting for a distance of 7 feet or more beyond the main fronts of buildings, and requires that the roofs of such shops shall be constructed of fire-resisting materials not less than 5 inches thick. The section also regulates the openings which may be made through such roofs.

“Section 12 requires the provision of proper means of access to the roofs of buildings coming within the scope of Section 10, and from all other buildings having more than two storeys above the ground storey, or exceeding 30 feet in height, except dwelling-houses occupied as such by not more than two families. Both Sections 10 and 12 apply to existing as well as to new buildings.

“Section 11 contains rules for the arrangement of living rooms over premises used for the storage of inflammable liquid, and Section 13 provides that no person shall, without consent, convert a building, or permit a building to be converted in such manner that such building, when so converted, will not be in conformity with the provisions of the Act.

“Section 14 enacts that all means of escape must be maintained in good condition and repair, and in efficient working order, and must not be obstructed or rendered less commodious.

“Section 22 provides that owners of property may appeal against the decisions of the Council under Sections 7, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 of the Act. Such appeals will be heard by the Tribunal of Appeal, constituted under the London Building Act, 1894.

“For the three months ended March 31st, 1906, 3,254 notifications were received from District Surveyors of buildings coming within the scope of Sections 10 and 12 (projecting shops and access to roofs). In order to avoid any possible misunderstanding as to the requirements of the Act, the Committee directed that the attention of owners should be drawn to the provisions of these sections, and that an intimation should be given that, if there were reasonable grounds for asking for exemption from any of the provisions of the sections, application should be made to the Council accordingly, as the Council has power to sanction exemptions where it is reasonable to do so.

“Instructions were also given for the occupiers of the buildings to be informed of the requirements of the sections, and that the duty of complying with the provisions rests with the owners.

“The first of the communications referred to were issued on March 27th, 1906, and by March 31st 498 had been despatched, and twelve applications had been received for exemption.

“Under Section 7 (new high and twenty-person buildings) 62 applications were approved, and four refused.

“Although Section 9 (existing high and twenty-person buildings) does not come into operation until January 1st, 1907, 29 applications were received from owners who wished to bring their buildings into conformity; 21 of these were dealt with, 14 being approved and seven refused.

“Three applications were received in respect of buildings in which inflammable liquid was stored (Section 11).

“LONDON BUILDING ACTS AMENDMENT.

“The greater part of the London Building Acts (Amendment) Bill, 1905, having been withdrawn before the second reading, as stated above, the Council instructed the Committee to send copies of the Bill to the Corporation of the City of London, the Councils of the Metropolitan Boroughs, and the various professional and other authorities concerned, and to invite their observations with a view to the introduction in 1906 of a further Bill. Owing to unavoidable delays this was impossible, but the Committee have devoted a considerable amount of time to the consideration of the Bill of 1905, and the observations submitted by the various public and other authorities thereon **in order that a new Bill may be submitted to Parliament at an early date.**”

There is no doubt that the Building Legislation in regard to London is not perfect, and that it ought to be amended. This, however, ought not to be done by a body of amateurs, but ought to be referred to a Royal Commission or a Committee of Experts. The Architect and the Committee wish to do away with the Tribunal of Appeal, and suggest various alternatives. They object to the Tribunal because it often reverses their own decisions, but it is obviously absurd for the Court of first instance (*i.e.*, the L.C.C. Building Committee) to consider the reconstitution of the Court of Appeal. The Council, as in everything else, wishes to be supreme.

THE PORT OF LONDON.

L.C.C. Deputation, 1900.

In the early part of 1900 the question of the administration and accommodation of the docks in the Port of London came under public discussion, in consequence of Bills introduced by the Dock Companies. The late Mr. Ritchie (afterwards Lord Ritchie), the then President of the Board of Trade, received, amongst other deputations, a deputation on March 15th, 1900, from the London County Council, to urge the necessity of an inquiry being instituted into the whole subject.

The deputation was composed of members of both parties, and urged that owing to so many authorities having control over the river, docks, wharves, &c., much confusion was created, and numerous interests overlapped, with a result disastrous to the best interests of the port. The charges were higher than elsewhere, and large ships were unable to come to the port from various causes. The question had not been investigated since 1799, and in the meantime numerous other seaports had greatly increased their dock accommodation, and many foreign ports were now ahead of London in shipping facilities. No definite proposals were put forward by the County Council, the case being confined to one for an inquiry.

Mr. Ritchie, in reply, said the matter was of vital importance to the well-being of London. He thought the remarks made justified an inquiry being held, and that the Dock Companies would also agree to the proposal. He hoped it might be possible to arrange for a full inquiry into the whole subject, and he assured the deputation the matter should have his earnest consideration.

Appointment of a Royal Commission, 1900.

The result was that the late Unionist Government in June, 1900, appointed a Royal Commission with the following reference :—

“ To inquire into :—

“ The present administration of the Port of London and the water approaches thereto ;

“ The adequacy of the accommodation provided for vessels and the loading and unloading thereof ;

“ The system of charge for such accommodation ;

“ The arrangements for warehousing dutiable goods ;

“ And to report whether any change or improvement, in regard to any of the above matters, is necessary for the promotion of the trade of the port and the public interest.”

The Commission issued its report in June, 1902.

Report of the Royal Commission, 1902.

The report dealt with the present administration of the port, and the water approaches thereto ; the accommodation provided for vessels, and the loading and unloading thereof ; the system of charge for such accommodation ; and the arrangements for warehousing dutiable goods.

The Commissioners found, as a fact, that the river channels and the docks were inadequate to meet the increased size of steamers ; that the tendency of all main ocean traffic was for cargoes to be carried in very large steamers ; and that the ports affording accommodation for the large ships would attract the trade from other ports, in spite of custom and tradition. This particularly applied to exported goods, and might probably account for the insignificant increase in the export trade of London during the last twenty years. The apparent danger was that ports like Rotterdam might usurp London's position as a distributor of oversea traffic, and might even re-export to London itself in smaller vessels. This would mean the loss to the Port of London of shipping dues, and the labour and charges for handling the goods thus transhipped. The Commissioners came to the conclusion that it was absolutely necessary to get

rid of the present chaos of authorities by the formation of a single port authority.

The Commissioners recommended that :—

“(1) The port authority should consist of about forty persons, partly nominated and partly elected.

“(2) On the assumption that the London County Council and the City Corporation accept the financial responsibilities which we have recommended, the nominated members should be appointed by the following bodies :—

(A) By the London County Council ..	11 members.
(B) By the City Corporation	3 „
(c) By the Admiralty	1 „
(D) By the Board of Trade .. .	1 „
(E) By the Trinity House	1 „
(F) By the Kent County Council ..	1 „
(G) By the Essex County Council ..	1 „
(H) By the London Chamber of Commerce	2 „
(I) By the Governors of the Bank of England from among persons belonging to the mercantile community of London ..	5 „

“(3) The elected members should be elected by different groups of voters, viz. :—

(J) By the oversea (or ocean) trading shipowners	5 members.
(K) By the short-sea trading shipowners	2 „
(L) By the wharfingers and owners of private warehouses on the river	3 „
(M) By owners of lighters, barges and river craft, including river passenger steamers	2 „
(N) By railway companies connecting with the docks	2 „

The Commissioners also recommended the constitution of a statutory committee for the management of the docks and works of dock improvement, which should consist of members appointed by the port authority, with power to co-opt some experts.

The financial responsibilities of the London County Council and the City Corporation (above referred to) were :—

“(1) That the London County Council and the City Corporation, in proportions to be agreed, should provide the capital

estimated at $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions, needful for the deepening, widening and improving of the river channels.

“(2) Should guarantee the payment of the interest upon the stock to be created by the port authority.

“It was proposed that the port authority should have power to purchase the undertakings of the dock companies, and for this purpose should create a port stock, bearing interest at a rate guaranteed, as above explained. This stock would be issued to each company as a consideration for the value of its undertaking.

“In addition to the stock so raised, the Commissioners suggested that the authority should issue an additional port stock for the $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions, which was proposed to be expended on improvements and extensions of the docks, and which, they thought, might fairly be expected to be a productive outlay.”

The Commissioners were further of opinion “that the port authority should be empowered :—

“(1) To retain the powers now possessed by the Thames Conservancy of levying dues upon ships which enter the port.

“(2) To levy, subject to the statutory maximum, dock tonnage dues upon all ships which enter the docks, and to fix charges upon goods landed in the docks other than those dealt with on overside conditions.

“(3) To levy annual licensing dues upon barges.

“(4) To impose dues upon import goods entering the port, except goods for transhipment, subject to maxima for different classes.”

The Commissioners also stated that, subject to due safeguards, the port authority should have some general powers to adopt other modes of raising revenue.

“The Commissioners recommend that all the powers and property of the Thames Conservancy in connection with the river below Teddington should be vested in the new authority, at and from the date to be appointed for the commencement of operations under the constituting Act. The powers of the Trinity House, so far as they relate to the area of the Port of London, as defined by the constituting Act, should also be transferred at the same date. All the powers of the Watermen’s Company connected with the licensing and control of watermen and lightermen, and the regulation of lighters and other craft, should also be transferred to the new authority.”

The report also recommended the consolidation of all the public docks in the hands of the port authority, and proposed that the authority should have power to purchase the docks, with the exception of the Limehouse Dock, which is practically

the mouth of a canal, and the Poplar and other railway docks, which fall into a category different from that of the large public docks.

The Commissioners stated that the reasons for entrusting the authority "with the control of the river and the docks do not apply with the same force to the case of the warehouses. The requirements of the port in this respect appear to have been sufficiently met by private capital and enterprise." In addition, they stated their object to be not to unnecessarily burden the new authority. Anticipating the difficulty, in some cases, of separating the warehouses and quays, however, they recommended that the port authority should have power to purchase the warehouses of the dock companies. In addition, they stated, "We think, however, that, in the peculiar circumstances of the Port of London, and in view of the division of trade between the docks and the riverside traders, it may be found to be inexpedient that the new authority should carry on, permanently, the business of warehousing. We are of opinion, therefore, that the authority, after taking over the warehouses, should," subject to conditions, "sell or lease such of them as would not be usefully employed in the enlargement of the quays or transit sheds." This would give the port authority the necessary elasticity in the mode of dealing with the warehouses.

The Commissioners further recommended that the Port of London, for all purposes of the new authority, should be defined as extending from Teddington Lock, as being the present tidal limit, to a line drawn from Havengore Creek, in Essex, to Warden Point, in the Isle of Sheppey, in Kent. This line is about two nautical miles further east than the present frontier of the Thames Conservancy for dredging purposes, and corresponds with the present actual eastward limit of the Customs port, and with that of the Thames Conservancy, for collecting port dues. The southward limit of the port should be the southern line specified in the second schedule of the Thames Conservancy Act, 1894, so far as it applies to the area west of the line from Havengore Creek to Warden Point, thus excluding the Medway.

The Commissioners considered that power might be given to the Board of Trade to extend by Provisional Order from time to time, for the special purpose of dredging, buoys, or lighting, the powers of the port authority as far as the line between Harwich Naze and the North Foreland, defined in the second schedule to the Thames Conservancy Act, 1894, and referred to in the second section of that Act.

The Port of London Bill, 1903.

On April 6th, 1903, a Port of London Bill was introduced "To establish a Commission for the administration of the

Port of London, and for transferring to the Commission the undertakings of certain dock companies and certain powers and duties of the Conservators of the River Thames and the Watermen's Company, and for other purposes connected therewith."

Mr. Gerald Balfour, the then President of the Board of Trade, in moving for leave to introduce the Bill, explained that :—

"It was an outcome of the recommendations of the Royal Commission, but in some unimportant particulars it did not follow those recommendations. It was not proposed to include the powers and duties of the Trinity House among the functions to be transferred to the new authority. The advice of the Commissioners as to the purchase of the docks had been taken ; but the Government did not see their way to place the new authority under the obligation of disposing as soon as possible of the dock companies' warehouses. The authority would be at liberty either to dispose of the warehouses or to retain them. The financial proposals in the Bill differed in two respects from the recommendations of the Commissioners. The Commissioners suggested that a municipal guarantee should be given jointly by the London County Council and the City Corporation ; but it had been decided that it should be given by the London County Council alone. Then the Bill provided that the debentures of the dock companies should be compulsorily redeemable.

"With regard to the constitution of the port authority, the scheme in the Bill varied very materially from the Commissioners' scheme. The plan of the Government was that the authority should consist of forty members, twenty-six of whom were to be elected and fourteen nominated members. The London County Council was to appoint eight members, the City two, the Admiralty one, the Board of Trade one, the Trinity House one, and the Railway Association one. Ten were to be elected by the payers of dues of ships, ten by the commercial community, four by the wharfingers, and two by the owners of river craft. To protect the interests of the rate-payers it was provided that, if at any time the revenues of the Board should be insufficient to meet the liabilities and the interest on the port stock, the London County Council should have the right to apply to the Board of Trade to readjust the dues upon goods and ships, so that the deficiency might be made up."

On the second reading of the Bill, Sir F. Dixon Hartland, M.P., moved its rejection. Mr. D. Morgan seconded the

amendment. Mr. Buxton, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. Vicary Gibbs, Mr. Lyttelton, and Mr. Bryce expressed general approval of the proposals in the Bill. Mr. Gerald Balfour stated that if the warehouses and wharves were bought, it would involve a loss by the new authority of £400,000 or £500,000 a year; moreover, they could not be purchased for less than £13,000,000. The Board of Trade would be prepared to consider any proposals which the wharfingers would bring forward in Committee. He showed that there was no probability of any call being made on the rates, and pointed out that the present income from the port left a large margin of safety. After further debate, in which Sir J. Dimsdale urged that a larger share of representation should be given to the London County Council, the amendment was withdrawn, and the Bill was read a second time and referred to a Joint Committee. In the middle of July, 1903, the Bill was reported with amendments, and on August 12th, 1903, on the motion of Mr. A. J. Balfour, the then Prime Minister, further proceedings were suspended until the next session of Parliament.

The L.C.C. Port of London Bill, 1905.

In 1905, the London County Council promoted a Bill under which it was proposed to hand over the administration of the Port of London to a Commission, to be composed of 40 members, 24 of whom would be appointed by the London County Council.

On March 14th, 1905, the Council decided to proceed with their Port of London Bill.

Mr. McKinnon Wood (the leader of the Progressive party), speaking in the Council on that occasion, said the Government must take the responsibility of rejecting the Bill. There was no ground or reason why they (the Council) should withdraw. They were merely proceeding to bring about a reform which the Government had sanctioned in general terms, and if the Government had changed their minds the Government must take the responsibility.

After some discussion, in which it was pointed out that the Council's Bill differed very materially from the Government's proposals, a motion to drop the Bill was rejected.

In the House of Commons, on April 13th, 1905, speaking in opposition to the second reading of this Bill, Mr. Bonar Law, the then Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, who advised the House, on behalf of the Board of Trade, to reject the Bill, insisted that a subject of such importance should be dealt with by the Government, if it was touched at all. The principle on which the County Council had proceeded was diametrically opposed to the principle which the Government adopted; and, in his opinion, it would hardly be possible to create a more unsatisfactory body for the management of the docks than that which this Bill would constitute. The payers of dues were the people who would suffer if the port was managed badly, and therefore they ought to be largely represented on any commission that was formed. Their paramount claims, however, were overlooked in this measure.—*Times (Summary Column)*, April 14th, 1905.

The Bill was then thrown out by 191 to 123 votes.

Debate in the Council, 1905.

On November 8th, 1905, a report from the Rivers Committee was considered by the Council. The Committee recommended:—

“That the necessary measures be taken for promoting a Bill in the next Session of Parliament, providing for the establishment of a Port of London Commission of 40 members, of whom 24 shall be appointed by the Council, 4 by the City Corporation and Government Departments, the remaining 12 to be trade and shipping representatives”; and providing that such Commission should purchase the undertakings of the three principal dock companies, take over the duties and liabilities of the Thames Conservancy and other bodies, and carry out schemes for the improvement of the port.

Sir T. Brooke-Hitching (M.) moved an amendment that the report should be referred back to the Committee in order that, before the Council committed itself to the principle of purchase, expert opinion might be taken on the question of the practicability of deepening the river by means of dredging, or the alternative plan of obtaining permanent deep water by means of the erection of a barrage with ship locks at Gravesend.

Mr. Brandon (M.) seconded the amendment.

Mr. Bruce (P.) opposed the amendment on the ground that a barrage would destroy the Port of London. Any slackening of the river's flow would result in the sandbanks below Gravesend expanding and filling up the existing channel.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. H. P. Harris (M.) moved an amendment that the representation of the Council on the Commission should be 15, and not 24 members.

The Earl of Malmesbury (M.) seconded the amendment, which was rejected on a show of hands.

Lord Welby (P.) (on behalf of, and at the request of, the Finance Committee) moved an amendment, which was seconded by Mr. Bruce (P.), that to Clause 12 of Recommendation (A) the following words be added :—

“And to levy dues on goods in accordance with a schedule of maximum rates to be approved by the Board of Trade, provided that such power is only to be exercised by the Port Commission in the event of the revenue of the Port Fund being insufficient, after providing for working expenses and any prior charges, to meet the interest on the guaranteed port stock, and the instalments payable to the sinking fund for redemption of the stock when such become payable.”

On a division the amendment was rejected by 42 votes to 35.

The recommendations of the Committee were then carried.

The Present Government's Intentions.

As shown by the following, it is now evidently the intention of the present Government not to legislate in regard to the Port of London before 1908.

“Mr. Lloyd George (the President of the Board of Trade) made the important announcement at the annual *Shipping Gazette* dinner, held on November 20th, 1906, at the Trocadero Restaurant in London, that he does not propose to proceed with a Port of London scheme for another year.

Mr. Lloyd George said he had seen every interest—the Corporation of London, the Chamber of Commerce, the London County Council, and the Thames Conservancy, but had been unable to get one deputation to agree with another. After having had all the rival schemes submitted to him he had decided that he could not recommend any one to Parliament. **He must take another year to make up his mind.** He agreed that the question ought not to be delayed long. Those great

Continental ports, Antwerp and Rotterdam, were year by year chipping off a little of the trade that ought to come to London. They were spending millions, and some of them giving subsidies. He asked his hearers not to close their minds altogether against the suggestion of municipal support, because it was of vital importance to London that it should retain its position as a cheap port.”—*The Tribune*, November 21st, 1906.

Views of the Chamber of Commerce.

“In view of the fact that a Port of London Bill is expected to be produced by the Government next year,* the Chamber of Commerce has been considering what representations it shall make to the President of the Board of Trade as to the lines on which the measure shall proceed, and a special general meeting of the members was held at the Cannon Street Hotel, on November 13th, 1906, for the purpose. Mr. T. F. Blackwell occupied the chair. Among others present were Sir Fortescue Flannery, Sir A. Rollit, Sir Roper Parkington, Sir G. Livesey, Mr. Rowland Alston, Mr. Frank Debenham, and Mr. Kenric B. Murray (secretary).

“In opening the proceedings Mr. Blackwell said that the Chamber had been considering the subject of the Port of London almost continuously for the last six years and had urged the appointment of a Port Trust. The Council had drawn up a resolution which would be submitted to the meeting, the object of the Chamber being to secure the good and the progress of the trade of the port.

“Mr. Kenric Murray having read a memorandum on the history of the subject during the last six years,

“Sir A. Rollit moved :—

“‘That in the opinion of the Council the President of the Board of Trade should be informed, in reply to his request, that from the commercial point of view the purchase of the docks is regarded as inexpedient ; also that the imposition of heavy dues on goods is opposed to the general feeling and action of the Chamber ; but, subject as above, the Council confirm its previous resolutions in favour of the constitution of a representative Port Authority for London, with adequate powers and financial resources, the latter of which should be aided by guarantees and contributions from both the State and municipal authorities.’

In doing so, he said that the Council might have acted on its own responsibility, but in so important a matter it had preferred to summon a meeting of the members. The Chamber of Commerce adhered in the main to its previous proposals, but it had in some respects altered its views.

* This meeting took place before Mr. Lloyd George’s announcement.

"An element of previous proposals had been the purchase of the docks and warehouses, but after consulting the traders, the Council were of opinion that compulsory purchase under a statute was inadvisable. The existing docks were not equipped, and had not the depth required for a really modern port, and to acquire them under the Lands Clauses Act would mean heavy compensation, and would be a burden, not a benefit, to the port. While the Council objected to increased dues, it was bound to be practical, and if the port was to be improved the Port Authority must have the means to do its work, therefore the resolution indicated that to some extent dues might be levied, but he was against heavy dues. He thought this was pre-eminently a case in which the great public bodies should take interest and financial responsibility, for without municipal and State support, the Port Authority could not borrow money cheaply. The Thames belonged not merely to London, but to the whole Kingdom, and the County Council, the Corporation, the municipalities should take their part by guarantee or otherwise in the great work.

"Mr. L. A. Martin seconded the resolution.

Amendment, moved and negatived.

"Mr. Innes Rogers moved as an amendment :—

"‘That a central authority for the control of the Port of London is unnecessary unless that authority purchase and manage the docks.’

He contended that the resolution was indefinite. It was a truism to say that it was inexpedient to purchase the docks, but nothing could be done without that purchase. Everyone, including the Council, had been persuaded of that, yet now they were reversing that decision. It really was a case of unreasoning panic, and there would be no heavy burden. The deepening of the river was no good without docks, and a public body could scarcely build new docks in opposition to those now existing. They represented not only waterside manufacturers and short-sea traders, but the whole of London, and they must not shirk their responsibilities.

"Mr. J. C. Pillman seconded the amendment, declaring the original resolution to be a most milk-and-watery production. He praised Mr. Gerald Balfour's Bill, and hoped the present Government would adopt it in some form, as it had been well discussed.

"Mr. David Howard, as a riverside manufacturer, said that if they were to be taxed for the benefit of the merchants of London they would have to give up and take their works abroad. When it became evident that a fabulous price would have to be paid for the docks, thus making London a dearer port than ever, he changed his view as to their acquisition.

“Mr. Frank Debenham suggested the introduction of the word ‘compulsory’ before the word ‘purchase’ in the resolution, and this was agreed to.

“Sir G. Livesey declared that the docks were largely obsolete, and he hoped no State or municipal money would be used to buy them. He certainly wanted no representation of the County Council on the Port Authority. To introduce county councillors in a business affair would, in his belief, be fatal to it.

“Several other speeches having been made, the amendment was negatived on a show of hands, but when the chairman proceeded to put the resolution several gentlemen protested, one on the ground that no merchant had been heard, another because the shipping interest had not been invited to express its views, while a third declared he had an amendment to propose. There were cries of ‘adjourn,’ and the chairman called for a show of hands as to an adjournment, when 33 votes were recorded for the adjournment and only 17 against. The proceedings were therefore adjourned.”—*The Morning Post*, November 14th, 1906.

L.C.C. Annual Report, 1906.

The Annual Report of the Proceedings of the Council for the year ended March 31st, 1906 (pages 258 to 260) states :—

“Administration of the Port of London.

“The Council has long been impressed with the necessity of effecting reforms in the administration of the Port of London and improvements in its accommodation, and it has again and again urged the danger of the existing conditions and the necessity for a comprehensive scheme of improvement.

“It was after strong representations had been made by the Council to the Government in the early part of 1900, that the Royal Commission of the Port of London was appointed, and the report which they made in June, 1902, after exhaustive inquiries, conclusively justified the attitude of the Council.

“It is not here necessary to refer in detail to the recommendations of the Royal Commission, as they have already been so fully discussed in previous annual reports, as well as in reports made by the Committee to the Council during recent years (*vide* Council Minutes, July 15th, 1902, pp. 1073–1080, May 19th, 1903, pp. 733–807, November 8th, 1904, pp. 2558–2568). It is sufficient to say that the Commission recommended the creation of a central public authority for the administration of the port and docks in place of the numerous authorities which now have divided jurisdiction thereover, and that the Com-

mission advised that the Council should contribute £2,500,000 for deepening the channel of the river, and should guarantee the interest on the port stock required to be raised for the purchase of the undertakings of the London and India, Surrey Commercial and Millwall Dock Companies, and for the extension and improvement of the dock accommodation.

“The facts stated in the report of the Royal Commission, and the conclusions at which they had unanimously arrived, profoundly excited public opinion, and the Government in the Session of 1903 introduced a Bill based mainly on the recommendations of the Commission. This Bill was given a prominent position in the legislative programme of the Government, and passed its second reading in the House of Commons without a division. It was referred to a Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament, presided over by Viscount Cross, which, after an inquiry extending over 14 days, passed it with certain amendments. The Council, feeling the subject to be one of vital concern to the interests of London, did not hesitate to express its willingness to undertake, subject to proper safeguards, the large financial responsibilities proposed to be placed upon it, and its views were put in evidence before the Joint Committee. No further progress was, however, made with the Bill in the Session of 1903, but a resolution was passed by the House of Commons suspending proceedings upon it until the Session of 1904. At the commencement of that Session the Government expressed their hope of proceeding with the Bill, but the Session passed without any further progress being made with it. In these circumstances the Council, being impressed with the urgency of the matter, decided itself to introduce a Bill in the following Session, and based its provisions largely upon those of the Government Bill in the form in which it was proposed to be finally amended by the Government. The Council's Bill was not, however, allowed by the Government to pass its second reading, one of the arguments used by Mr. Bonar Law in asking the House of Commons to reject it, being that the subject dealt with was too large to be treated in a private Bill. This argument, if valid, shows that the subject is one which should be dealt with by the Government, and emphasises the importance of effective steps being taken in the matter.

“It is true that, by the Thames Conservancy Act of 1905, the Thames Conservancy Board have obtained authority from Parliament to deepen the river from the Nore to Gravesend so as to provide a channel 30 feet deep and 1,000 feet wide, but this is only a comparatively small section of the improvements recommended by the Royal Commission, and it is doubtful whether the carrying out of this dredging work will prove any very great benefit to the port so long as no steps are taken to extend and improve the existing dock accommodation which the Royal Commission pronounced to be inadequate to meet

the increased and increasing demands of modern commerce. In fact, deepening the river as far as Gravesend without carrying out the other improvements of the river, docks, and dock entrances, which are a necessary corollary, may result in greater congestion at or near the entrances to the docks.

“In order to provide funds for the dredging of this channel the Thames Conservancy have been authorised by the Act to double their dues on shipping during the next three years, and it is impossible to say at this stage what effect this may have upon the volume of shipping entering the port, especially as no further facilities are required to be provided for the rapid discharge of the vessels. It will be remembered that the Royal Commission specially referred to the delays experienced under the present conditions, and emphasised the urgent necessity for such improvements as would enable vessels to be more quickly discharged.

“It is significant that at a time when no effective steps have been taken to secure the reforms which are urgently needed in the interests of London and its Port, the authorities of other ports which enter more or less into competition with London are proposing to expend large sums of money in their improvement.

“Valuable information on this subject is contained in a report by the statistical officer, a copy of which was sent to each member of the Council, in November, 1905. Particulars were given in this report as to the proposal to make a large extension of the Port of Antwerp northward (*i.e.*, seawards) of the existing quays and docks. It was proposed by this scheme to construct a locked basin across a bend of the river with a series of docks extending from it on the right, and also to make a new channel for the river about five miles long parallel with the new basin. The carrying out of this scheme would greatly increase the accommodation of the Port of Antwerp, the length of the existing river quays being $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles, while the length available for the new quays would be about $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The length of the quays of the existing docks (including some then in course of construction) was 9.9 miles. The quayage of the new docks to be constructed under this scheme would be 28.8 miles. The estimated cost of the construction of the dock canal and the new river channel, which was to be carried out by the Belgian Government, was stated in the British Consul's report to be £7,500,000. The cost of the nine great docks and of the dry docks, which were apparently to be constructed by the municipality out of moneys advanced by the Government, would be a very large additional amount. The carrying out of a scheme of this nature would of course extend over a number of years, and its progress would no doubt be regulated by the requirements of the increased shipping of the port.

"The report further stated that very extensive improvements had recently been, and were being, carried out at the Port of Hamburg. Although between 1882 and 1888 the port was completely reconstructed at a cost of about £6,000,000, heavy expenditure had since been incurred, both in providing new docks and in deepening the channel of the river. In 1902 a new large dock was completed, and in 1903 two further docks—these last two costing about £1,600,000. In 1902 a new large dock at Cuxhaven, an outport of Hamburg, was also completed. In the work of dredging, Hamburg spends a large sum annually, and it was pointed out in the report that it also appeared that the town, in co-operation with the Government of Prussia, was about to undertake an extensive scheme for improving the course of the Elbe below Hamburg so as to provide for the largest class of vessels.

"As regards the Port of Rotterdam the statistical officer reported that extensive works of improvement had from time to time been made, with the result that there was between the sea and Rotterdam, a distance of 18 miles, a navigable channel at least 1,000 feet wide, and, except for one comparatively small portion which was being dredged, 29 feet deep at low water. Other works, including the construction of a large dock, were in course of construction, and it was understood that further dock extensions were contemplated.

"Attention was called in the report to the fact that large sums had already been spent in providing dock accommodation at Bremerhaven, which is situated at the mouth of the Weser, Bremen being 70 miles higher up the river, and that an agreement had been concluded between the State of Bremen and the North German Lloyd Steamship Company for the extension of the dock and wharfage accommodation of the port at an estimated cost of about £2,300,000.

"As regards the improvement of British ports, to which the report also referred, the largest scheme was that propounded for Liverpool. In July, 1905, the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board decided to apply in the next Session of Parliament for authority to carry out a large scheme of dock extension at a cost which, it was stated, would amount to £4,027,500. The new docks are to have a depth of 40 ft. of water on the sills, and one of them will provide accommodation for vessels 1,000 feet long. This board has in the last fifteen years expended on capital account £8,489,717, of which £5,614,790 was expended in the last six years. In the same fifteen years, the capital expenditure on the Port of London by the London dock companies and the Thames Conservancy has not exceeded £2,500,000. In addition to the money which the Mersey docks and Harbour Board is seeking authority to raise for constructing the new docks, it has unexhausted borrowing powers amounting to £2,277,707.

"The Bristol Corporation is proceeding steadily with the improvement of its port, and it was stated in the report that its capital expenditure during the last fifteen years had amounted to £1,925,748, of which £1,400,235 had been expended in the last six years. In this connection it should be borne in mind that the shipping of Bristol is less than one-eighth of that of London.

"At Southampton a new graving dock capable of accommodating vessels 250 feet longer than any now afloat was opened in November, 1905, and considerable works are in progress at Dover.

"The subjoined table, compiled from statistics contained in the report, shows the number and tonnage of shipping with cargoes and in ballast which entered the ports of London, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Hamburg, Liverpool, Bristol, Southampton and Dover in the years 1899-1904 :—

Year.	London.		Antwerp.†	
	Number.	Tonnage.	Number.	Tonnage.
1899	26,226	15,388,228	5,420	6,842,163*
1900	25,814	15,553,001	5,244	6,691,791*
1901	26,421	15,952,453	5,209	7,510,938*
1902	26,810	16,298,412	5,607	8,427,779*
1903	27,359	17,075,313	5,761	9,131,831*
1904	27,098	17,073,852	5,852	9,400,335*

Year.	Rotterdam.†		Hamburg.†	
	Number.	Tonnage.	Number.	Tonnage.
1899	6,890	6,323,072	13,312	7,765,950
1900	7,268	6,326,901‡	13,102	8,037,514
1901	6,881	6,382,934	12,847	8,383,365
1902	6,755	6,546,473	13,284	8,727,294
1903	7,499	7,626,263	14,028	9,155,926
1904	7,692	7,657,707	14,859	9,611,732

* Since January 1st, 1884, the net registered tonnage of Belgian ships has been calculated by Moorsom's system, under which the actual space occupied by the machinery is deducted from the gross tonnage of the ship, whereas in England a deduction of 32 per cent. is made for engine-room space. This is generally understood to be too large, and it has been estimated that as a result Belgian tonnages are about 10 per cent. higher than they would be if measured by the English system.

† Antwerp, Rotterdam, and Hamburg have in addition a large trade by canal. For example, the number of boats (laden and empty) which entered the port of Antwerp by canal was in 1902, 32,120; and in 1903, 33,940. The tonnage of such boats was in 1902, 5,705,731; and in 1903, 6,319,626.

‡ In 1900 there was an alteration in the method of ascertaining the net tonnage of certain vessels, which resulted in reducing the total tonnage.

Year.	Liverpool.		Bristol.	
	Number.	Tonnage.	Number.	Tonnage.
1899	20,197	9,468,115	8,786	1,556,089
1900	20,300	9,315,674	8,279	1,441,341
1901	20,100	9,704,160	8,332	1,566,112
1902	19,853	10,178,956	10,347	1,715,796
1903	19,906	10,991,939	10,787	1,792,685
1904	20,526	11,083,856	12,671	1,911,516

Year.	Southampton.		Dover.	
	Number.	Tonnage.	Number.	Tonnage.
1899	11,796	2,784,013	4,171	1,147,859
1900	12,235	2,805,098	3,898	1,139,171
1901	12,444	2,892,346	4,268	1,144,713
1902	13,203	3,062,670	4,138	1,184,644
1903	12,888	3,317,908	4,125	1,140,684
1903	13,099	3,621,099	4,171	1,960,451

"It is, however, somewhat difficult to compare the ports of London and Antwerp in this respect, owing to the fact, as stated below, that the British and Belgian systems of measurement of registered tonnage are not similar. At Antwerp also there is a large canal traffic which may, however, to some extent be regarded as comparable with the coastwise shipping of London, but, even taking the total shipping of London (and excluding the canal traffic of Antwerp) it will be seen that the increase in the shipping of Antwerp in six years, 1899-1904, is 67 per cent. in excess of the increase in the total shipping of London, which much more than allows for any difference between the Belgian and English tonnage measurement.

"The Committee drew the attention of the Council on November 21st, 1905, to the facts referred to in the preceding paragraphs, and pointed out that, notwithstanding the fact that the large improvements and extensions referred to were in contemplation or in course of being carried out at other ports, there seemed no probability under the present conditions of any adequate steps being taken to carry out the improvements required in the interests of the Port of London; further, that it was quite clear that the London dock companies were in no better position to meet the requirements of the situation than they were when the report of the Royal Commission was issued. The Council, as the Committee also pointed out, had been

actuated in its policy of urging the creation of a properly constituted public authority by the consideration that the volume of manufactures in London and the adjacent districts was greater than in any other manufacturing town in the United Kingdom, and that a vast population was engaged in its industries, which to a large extent depended upon the importation of foreign material and goods. The prosperity of the port being therefore of vital importance to London and the large communities which surround it, the Committee expressed the fear that, unless effective steps were taken to remedy the conditions referred to by the Royal Commission, London would lose its pre-eminence both as regards manufactures and shipping. On the other hand, the improvement of the port would mean increase of employment, and could not fail to be of great and lasting benefit to the community.

“As a result of the consideration of the Committee’s report, the Council, on November 28th, 1905, passed the following resolution :—

“That this Council regrets that, owing to the action of the Government, no great reform of the Port of London has been carried out during the present Parliament, and again emphasises its opinion that in the general interest of London it is of urgent importance that an immediate reform of the control of the Port of London should take place.

“As the Council is aware, the late Government resigned in December, 1905, and **the Committee have since then been carefully considering what further action it should recommend the Council to take with regard to the administration of the Port.**”

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